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Jen-min Jih-pao Forum on Party Life

December 1973-February 1974

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Conscientiously Accept Revolutionary Supervision from
the Masses

- Deeds of the Party Committee of Wuhsi Building Structural Elements Factory, Kiangsu Province, in developing democratic style of work

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao December 4, 1973)

After receiving militant baptism during the great proletarian cultural revolution, the leading members of the Party Committee of Wuhsi Building Structural Elements Factory, Kiangsu Province, have greatly heightened their consciousness in accepting supervision from the masses, thereby cementing their relations with the masses. The masses of workers actively show concern for major problems of the line and boldly put forward various kinds of criticisms and suggestions on the work of the Party committee.

Open a Road to Invite Opinions

In March 1971, not long after the Party committee of the building structural elements factory was established, Hu Pan-tu, secretary of the Party committee, received a letter referred by the higher-level leading organ. This letter was from the masses, making acute criticism against the leadership of the Party committee for cherishing the tendency of neglecting the two-line struggle in handling certain problems.

As soon as Old Hu had finished reading this letter at a meeting of the Party committee, a controversy broke out among the committee members. The majority of the committee members held that this letter was fine indeed, that the workers' bravery in criticizing the shortcomings in leadership work represented their concern and love for the Party committee, and that this spirit should be encouraged. But, a few committee members were not happy at hearing this: The masses have opinions. But, they refer them to the municipal leadership without telling our Party committee. Aren't they intentionally pouring cold water on our new Party committee?

After hearing the committee members' opinions, Hu Pan-tu thought to himself: Should one be "happy at hearing one's mistake pointed out by others" or "angry at hearing one's mistake pointed out by others"? This is not only a problem of one's style of work, but also a problem of one's attitude toward the masses. When the new Party committee was established, it called upon the masses of workers to give it supervision and help in its work. Now, when the masses really criticize the Party committee, how can it adopt the attitude of "Lord Sheh's love of dragons"?*

* As told by Liu Hsiang (76-5 B.C.) in his Hsin Hsu, Lord Sheh was so fond of dragons that he adorned his whole palace with drawings and carvings of them. But when a real dragon heard of his infatuation and paid him a visit, he was frightened out of his wits.--CB Editor.

Hu Pan-tu got together with the "squad members" of the Party committee to seriously study Chairman Mao's writings on strengthening of the Party's ideological development and led them to hold a discussion in connection with the question "How should we treat criticism from the masses?" The old cadres of the Party committee talked about the mistakes they had committed before the great cultural revolution because they divorced themselves from the masses, and about how they came back to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line after accepting criticism and help from the masses during the great cultural revolution. The "squad members" of the Party committee deeply realized that: Criticism and supervision from the masses can urge us to go on improving our style of leadership and to better implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. If we say that the criticism and supervision from the masses mean "pouring cold water" on us, what harm can they do us when they pour more of this kind of cold water on us and help us wash away the dust of the bourgeois ideas and keep our heads clear?

Immediately after that, Hu Pan-tu again led all to make this analysis: Why is it that the masses are unwilling to express their opinions directly to us and, instead, want to reflect them to our higher level by bypassing us? Some comrades said: When we served as workers in the workshop in the past, the masses told us what were in their minds. They also "fired" at us face to face when they had opinions. After joining the leading group, we always held that we were wiser than the masses, so that we felt ill at ease and might even refute them when we heard their differing opinions. Gradually the masses became "courteous" to us and no longer "beat the gongs and drums" before us as they did in the past when they had opinions. This shows that there is already a barrier between the masses and ourselves.

They understood clearly that only when they consciously overcame their bureaucratic and arrogant airs and truly welcomed criticism and supervision from the masses would the masses really dare to speak out what was in their minds and to express their opinions.

Eventually, the leading members of the Party committee of the factory unified their thinking: In order that the broad masses can assume the responsibility of supervising the work of the Party committee, the workers who wrote the letter should be commended. At a meeting of workers and staff members of the whole factory, Old Hu, on behalf of the Party committee, conscientiously examined the criticisms put forward by the masses in their letter, announced the measures for remedy, and enthusiastically asked all workers and staff members of the factory to learn from the comrades who wrote the letter. The Party committee of the factory also set up and improved the systems governing periodical holding of open-door rectification meetings, appraisal of Party members by the masses, and cadres' participation in manual labor, adopted various measures and sought opinions from the masses, thereby further cementing the relations between the Party and the masses and activating the democratic life.

Correct Our Mistakes

Is the problem of making the masses criticize and supervise the leaders solved when the Party committee has adopted some measures to encourage the masses to express their opinions? Things are not so simple.

In an open-door rectification campaign which followed, the Party committee discovered that some "big guns" in the factory were not so active in expressing opinions to the leadership as before. Upon enquiring into the matter, it learned that this was because some leading members were very humble in soliciting opinions but lacked determination in remedying the defects. Some of the masses felt that the opinions they had put forth did not play a big role, so they just stopped expressing opinion. This state of affairs provoked the deep thought of the leadership of the Party committee: The masses express their opinions for the purpose of helping the leaders overcome their shortcomings and implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line with better results. If the leaders listen to the opinions of the masses but take no action on them and if they know their shortcomings but refuse to overcome them, they will be going back upon the fervor of the masses and dampen their enthusiasm in expressing opinions.

After studying this problem, the Party committee asked its members to handle more seriously and conscientiously each of the opinions put forward by the masses and to strive to correct any mistake, and pointed out that the more quickly and thoroughly a mistake was corrected, the better.

On the eve of "July 1" this year, construction of the new steel-rolling workshop was completed ahead of schedule. To express thanks for the support given by the relevant units, Chang Tsung-hua, a deputy secretary of the Party committee who was responsible for production, suggested giving some pictures of the landscapes of Wuhsi with exquisite frames as gifts to these coordinating units. The Party committee also consented to Old Chang's opinion. Not long after that, some people of the workshop said that this was an expression of treating some people to a feast or giving them some gifts, and this was incompatible with the principle of hard work and plain living.

Upon hearing what the masses said, Chang Tsung-hua went through a very acute ideological struggle. He felt that the opinion expressed by the masses was very sensible. He wanted to act accordingly, but he also had worries: It is a disgrace to withdraw what I have said. Moreover, this is not a big problem and the masses have not brought up this matter officially to the Party committee. It will be all right so long as I pay attention to avoiding doing the same thing next time. On second thought, however, he told himself: The Party and the people give us power so that we can serve the people better. I know where I am wrong but if I don't correct my mistake promptly--this means that I shirk responsibility. Lenin said: "The attitude of a political party toward its mistakes is the most important and most reliable yardstick for measuring whether this party is prudent and whether it really performs its duties to its class and the working class." After hearing the criticism and opinions from the masses, should we correct our mistakes verbally or by solid action and should we correct them slowly

or quickly? This is a measure for judging whether we sincerely accept criticism and supervision from the masses.

Old Chang reported to the Party committee the opinions of the masses and his suggestion on correcting mistakes. The committee members felt that they should resolutely correct their mistakes if the opinions of the masses were correct. After that, Chang Tsung-hua, regardless of his personal gains and losses, went happily to the fraternal units to explain the conditions clearly and make self-criticism conscientiously. Seeing that their opinions were accepted by the leadership, the masses of workers of our factory further aroused their enthusiasm for socialism and exercised supervision more energetically over the work of the Party committee.

Make Analysis Aptly

In the course of accepting supervision from the masses, the Party committee of Wuhsi Building Structural Elements Factory has learned another impressive lesson: The opinions of the masses may be correct and may not be correct. After hearing them, we must make analysis in the attitude of "Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words" and "Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not." We must draw political nutrition from the opinions of the masses and strive to improve the work of the Party committee.

With the Party's policy toward cadres put into effect continuously, Yen Po-lin, former deputy manager of the factory, returned to his leading post in production. Because he still had worries, Old Yen was over-cautious in his work. This prevented some tasks from being accomplished according to schedule. Many workers and staff members were critical of this. In an open-door rectification meeting, some comrades criticized the Party committee for carrying out the Party's policy toward cadres in a way of "playing an interlude." Some comrades of the Party committee found this unpleasant to their ears at the first hearing. They thought to themselves: The "squad members" of the Party committee exert themselves and have done a great deal of work, making the factory an advanced model in carrying out the cadres policy throughout the system of building material production. How should the masses grasp the shortcomings of some individuals and say that all the work done by the Party committee is "playing an interlude"!

Chang Chin-cheng, a deputy secretary of the Party committee, was responsible for political and organizational work. He listened especially attentively to the criticism from the masses. He thought to himself: It is not strange that the masses have put forward some inappropriate opinions because the positions they hold and the information they have acquired are different from ours. Doubtlessly, asking the masses to put forward perfect and 100-percent correct opinions means sealing their mouths and rejecting their criticism. He felt that there was really a big number of problems in his work: In the course of carrying out the Party's policy toward cadres, the Party committee attaches greater importance to using the old cadres but does not grasp tightly enough the ideological education for them after using them. Some of the shortcomings shown in Yen Po-lin are precisely a reflection of the shortcomings in the work of the Party committee.

Thereupon, Old Chang analyzed the opinions of the masses at the Party committee meeting and seriously examined the problems existing in his thinking and in his work in the course of implementing the Party's policy. After the meeting, Old Chang and other responsible comrades of the Party committee went separately to call on Yen Po-lin and had chats with him, invited him to participate in the class for the study of line education, and got together with him to study Chairman Mao's relevant teachings and criticize the ultra-rightist essence of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, thereby helping him heighten his consciousness of the two-line struggle. After dispelling his worries, Yen Po-lin played the role of a backbone element in work.

At the same time, Old Chang went deeply into the workers' squad units in the workshops to listen humbly to the criticisms and suggestions made by the masses to the Party committee, and investigated in detail the ideological and working conditions of each cadre. The Party committee also paid attention to strengthening regular conducting of line education among the masses and helping the masses heighten their consciousness of the two-line struggle, raise their level of policy understanding and criticize and supervise better the work of the Party committee.

Since these problems still existed in the enforcement of the Party's policy toward cadres, why didn't this attract the close attention of the Party committee at the beginning? When these opinions were put forward, why did some people refuse to accept them? In an attitude of being strict with oneself, the comrades of the Party committee analyzed their thinking penetratingly. They discovered that some comrades cherished arrogance and complacency in the midst of applause by the leaders and the masses and, therefore, blindfolded and deafened themselves and hindered their own progress. After making this analysis, the "squad members" of the Party committee saw more clearly from the shortcomings in their work the shortcomings in their thinking and suggested a new problem for ideological check-up of the Party committee.

- Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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Look at the Supervision from the Masses by Standing
on the High Plane of the Line

by

T'ang Sheng-p'ing (唐生平)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Dec. 4, 1973)

Comrade Wang Hung-wen points out in his "Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution": "Ours is a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of working people are the masters of our country. They have the right to exercise revolutionary supervision over cadres of all ranks of our Party and state organs. This concept has taken deeper root throughout the Party, thanks to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution." The deeds of the Party committee of Wuhsi Building Structural Elements Factory in developing democratic style of work and conscientiously accepting revolutionary supervision from the masses have vividly testified to this point.

After the great proletarian cultural revolution, Mao Tsetung Thought has been imprinted more deeply in people's minds, the mental outlook of the broad masses inside and outside the Party has gone through a deep change, and the masses have plucked up further their spirit of master of the house and dare to put forward criticisms and opinions on the work done by Party organizations at all levels and on the Party cadres. This is a good thing and an outcome of the great cultural revolution and has long-range influence.

How should we correctly view the revolutionary supervision from the masses? The experience acquired by the Party committee of Wuhsi Building Structural Elements Factory shows that the leaders not only must accept criticism and allow the masses to speak, but also must actively enlighten and lead the masses and create conditions on their own initiative, so that the masses dare to express their opinions. They not only must listen humbly to the opinions of the masses, but also must conscientiously overcome the shortcomings in their thinking and style of work and resolutely correct the defects and mistakes in their work. Here, what we must pay particular attention to is that, first, we must listen and, second, we must correct our mistakes. Some comrades are rather humble in listening to opinions but are not so determined in correcting their mistakes. They are not really humble and this is not the correct attitude toward the masses who express opinions. We must know, the masses express their opinions for the purpose of helping you overcome your shortcomings and correct your mistakes. If you don't correct your mistakes, aren't people making efforts in vain, no matter how many opinions they have put forward? Who is willing to waste effort again? Inevitably, some of the opinions expressed by the masses may be one-sided, and others may even be wrong. This makes it necessary for us to make careful observation and make analysis aptly. When people are saying something wrong, we should also let them finish what they want to say, and then explain the matter to them slowly. If we find fault with the opinions put forward by the masses and are particular about their accuracy and correctness, we are sealing up the mouths of our critics and rejecting the criticism from the masses. The correct attitude should be: On the one hand, we should not

fear and suppress criticism but should analyze it, absorb from it what is correct, and strive to remold our thinking and improve our work. On the other hand, we should actively guide the masses, strengthen ideological and political work, carry out education in line, and help the masses express opinions courageously and put forward better opinions aptly.

Chairman Mao has consistently taught us that cadres must accept supervision from the higher and the lower levels, chiefly from the masses. We serve as cadres because we are entrusted by the people. Therefore, the people have the right to supervise our work and criticize our shortcomings. We only have the obligation of accepting criticism and supervision from the masses and have no right whatsoever to suppress criticism. This is precisely an outstanding mark distinguishing our Party from an, bourgeois, revisionist political party. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and company undermined our Party's fine styles for the purpose of divorcing our Party from the masses, changing our Party's nature as the vanguard force of the proletariat, and making it degenerate from a Marxist-Leninist party into a revisionist party. We must approach this problem by standing on the high plane of the struggle between the two lines, inherit and develop the Party's traditional styles, trust and rely on the masses, consciously accept revolutionary supervision from the masses, and firmly struggle against such phenomena as suppressing criticism and perpetrating retaliation, which are against the Party's discipline.

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Humbly Solicit Criticism from the Masses

- an account of a few deeds of Comrade Li Chen-hua, first deputy secretary of CCP committee of P'ingshun hsien, Shansi

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Dec. 4, 1973)

Comrade Li Chen-hua, first deputy secretary of the CCP committee of P'ingshun hsien, Shansi, is 39 this year. Under the leadership of Li Shun-ta, a nationally-known model laborer and secretary of the hsien committee, he unites with the "squad members" of the hsien committee and works hard, winning warm welcome from the broad masses.

Because Li Shun-ta devotes most of his time to attending meetings in other localities and working at the grassroots level, the hsien committee assigns Li Chen-hua to preside over its daily routine. Therefore, Li Chen-hua has to come into contact with more contradictions and has more chances of hearing the opinions and criticisms from the masses. But, he holds that: Criticism is different in method from commendation, but they aim at the same target of doing the work better. Our achievements won't disappear even if nobody talks about them; things will become serious if we don't hear criticism. Therefore, he is particularly conscious and humble in soliciting criticism from the masses.

Yang Ch'ang-ch'ing is an ex-armyman working in P'ingshun hsien traffic bureau. He works actively, is honest and outspoken, and is fond of putting forward opinions. Some people say that he is fond of "finding fault" and are not interested in him. But, Li Chen-hua always seeks opinions from him.

Water is scarce in P'ingshun hsien, and the water for consumption in the township of the hsien-government seat has to be conducted from Shihhsia Reservoir lying 20 li away. The water pipes laid formerly were made of earthen ware. Because these earthenware pipes were damaged frequently, the hsien committee decided in the spring of last year to replace them with iron pipes. Hearing this, Yang Ch'ang-ch'ing posed a question: "If the water pipes are replaced only for the convenience of the hsien-government seat township, how will the countryside get its water supply?" Li Chen-hua heard what he said. The more he ruminated upon this opinion, the more he found it sensible. When the earthenware pipes were laid for conducting water, one or more pools were built for storing water needed by the people and the animals in every village located along the route in which the water pipes were laid. These pools were connected with the pipe line. If iron pipes were used instead for conducting water, it would be inconvenient to fit taps on these pipes. This would adversely affect the supply of water for the people and the animals in the villages. Moreover, the replaced earthen pipes would be wasted. If some earthen pipes were retained as they were, it would be possible to service the earthenware and iron pipes alternatively, and the masses would also find it convenient to obtain water. Li Chen-hua exchanged views with other comrades of the hsien committee. Upon reaching unanimous agreement, the hsien committee immediately changed the decision and commended Yang Ch'ang-ch'ing on the spot for his good style of daring to put forward criticism and opinion in the interests of the people.

Li Chen-hua often says: When the masses have red hearts and bright eyes and fight on the first line of the three great revolutionary movements, they can see problems distinctly and grasp them accurately. A revolutionary must humbly solicit criticism and opinions from the higher-level leadership and, above all, sincerely accept criticism and opinions from the masses.

Li Chen-hua once went to work in Chungwuching commune. While doing manual labor, he heard some commune members say that a few cadres of the commune level brought their family dependents here and let them live in idleness. He attached great importance to this opinion. After consulting on the matter with the commune Party committee, he mobilized the family dependents of these cadres to go back to their villages to participate in collective productive labor. Some people said: "The family dependents of the commune cadres live here only one or two months in a year. The family dependents of some cadres in the hsien-government seat have been living there one or two years. Why don't you see about it?" Li Chen-hua gave welcome on the spot to this criticism and opinion. As soon as he returned to the hsien-government seat, he organized an investigation. It was discovered that, in the whole hsien, more than 100 family dependents of cadres and other staff members fed themselves on the rations from the countryside but had long lived idly in the hsien-government seat. Some of these family dependents lived here in idleness, while others tried to make money by doing some side-occupations. This hindered the deep-going development of the movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture. Upon learning this state of affairs, and with the support by Li Shun-ta, Li Chen-hua immediately called a meeting of the standing committee of the hsien committee to discuss this matter. A decision was made to mobilize the family dependents to go back to their villages. Meetings of cadres, staff members and their family dependents were held to carry out mobilization work. Motivated by the leading cadres and the Party cadres, most of these family dependents went back very quickly to the first line of production in the countryside.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it." Acting on this instruction, Li Chen-hua always solicits criticism humbly from the masses and analyzes it conscientiously. He corrects the mistakes if he has committed them; he guards against mistakes if he has not committed them.

In 1970, Li Chen-hua came to stay and work in Liuts'un brigade, Chungwuching commune. This brigade practiced self-reliance and fought arduously. In autumn, its grain output rose from some 300 catties in the preceding year to more than 400 catties per mow, crossing the "Yellow River." A cadre of Hsiawuching brigade which was adjacent to Liuts'un brigade refused to believe this. He heard the rumor that Liuts'un brigade got an appropriation of more than 50,000 yuan from Li Chen-hua and used it to buy chemical fertilizer for promoting growth of the grain. The commune cadres found that this rumor was practically unfounded. Li Chen-hua not only had appropriated no money to Liuts'un, but when a hsien department wanted to appropriate 5,000 yuan extra as water conservation funds to Liuts'un brigade, he retained this money unused.

The commune cadres criticized that brigade cadre. He also regretted having wronged Li Chen-hua. Upon learning this, Li Chen-hua did not blame him and, instead, called on this cadre on his initiative and said to him: "You shouldn't be blamed for putting forward an incorrect opinion. It was I who didn't do my job. I only paid attention to Liuts'un brigade where I was staying, and I didn't do the work well in the whole area." After that, when staying to work in Liuts'un brigade, Li Chen-hua paid closer attention to grasping the work in the neighboring brigades, including Hsiwuching, Houliuts'un, Hsisai and Paiheng brigades.

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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A Leader Should All the More Be Strict with Himself

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Dec. 4, 1973)

Li Tun-ts'ai, secretary of the Party branch of Fangchuang brigade, Lingch'eng commune, Suining hsien, Kiangsu province, firmly bears in mind the Party's honorable traditions of honesty, devotion to the public and protecting the interests of the masses, and is strict with himself, setting a good example for other cadres of the brigade. In the past few years, he never borrowed or misappropriated a copper or a grain from the collective. He submitted every year to the production team for allotment at its discretion the exact amount of money which was paid him yearly as subsidy for cadres for being delayed from work. Seeing that he had inadequate labor force at home, had economic difficulties and had to attend meetings in other localities, the cadres and the masses suggested giving him subsidy, which he courteously refused.

Li Tung-ts'ai says: "A cadre responsible for leadership work can easily become the target of attack by sugar-coated bullets of the class enemy. If we forget the revolutionary interests, seek personal gains and are greedy and thirsty, 'some people will bring us water of their own accord.'" Therefore, he never accepts anything other people give him as a present.

One day in last spring, someone sent a gift to Li Tun-ts'ai. Old Li's wife firmly refused to accept it. That man left the gift behind and went away. When Old Li came home and learned this, he said to his wife: "If a cadre cherishes selfish ideas and accepts a bribe, and if he is weak in resisting corruption, he will be unable to uphold the principle and will invariably harm the interests of the Party and the people!" He personally took the gift back to that man and criticized and educated him.

Influenced by Li Tun-ts'ai's exemplary deeds, all the Party members and cadres of Fangchuang brigade are honest and devote themselves to the public. They win trust and praise from the masses. Seeing this good style among the cadres and the new development in revolution and production, the masses sing praises unanimously: This is because Old Li and other cadres have worked in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings.

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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I Do Not Allow This Even Though I Am Here the
First Time

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Dec. 4, 1973)

One morning, P'ing Shih-k'uei, a cook, was cleaning the tables after other comrades had taken their breakfast. He found two ten-cent coins on a table. Whose money was that? Taking these two coins with him, he asked all comrades of the platoon about this. Nobody knew.

It was later discovered that, on that morning, deputy political commissar Chao Yueh-tsun who had just come back from the regiment headquarters after carrying out support-the-left tasks came specially to visit the comrades of the 2nd platoon of the 2nd company. Seeing that the deputy political commissar had come, the cooks said: He had not been with us for the past few years. How could we treat him to coarse bread? So, they bought from the messhall of the leading organ two loaves of fine bread and 30 cents worth of food. Coming to his table for the breakfast, the deputy political commissar was taken aback by what he saw displayed on the table. Reading his thoughts, the platoon leader immediately explained: "Deputy Political Commissar, this is the first time you come to our platoon after you returned from the regiment headquarters. The comrades know your temper. They haven't prepared additional food for you, but just two loaves of bread, which represent a bit of their good wishes. There is nothing special. Please take your breakfast." Hearing this, the deputy political commissar said to all present: "Comrades, I do not allow this even though I am here the first time. I appreciate your kindness. But, we must not forget our Army's honorable tradition that officers and men are alike!" Eventually, he ate the bread together with some salted vegetable. When the comrades were not noticing, he put the money beside a bowl and left.

After making clear what had happened, the comrades said: "Our deputy political commissar really bears firmly in mind the Party's fine traditions. He does not carry himself even slightly as someone special."

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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Party Committees Must See Major Issues Clearly and
Grasp Them Tightly

- some understanding acquired from the study of the documents
of the 10th Party Congress

by

the Party Committee of Nanch'eng General Store
of Taiyuan Municipal Grain Bureau

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Dec. 10, 1973)

In studying the documents of the 10th Party Congress, we tightly grasp first of all the study among the Party committee members and emphatically discuss the problem that the Party committee must grasp major issues. In the course of study, we bear the reality in mind, open up our minds and enthusiastically discuss problems, thereby deepening our understanding of the meaning of grasping major issues. Through study and discussion, we realize that the Party committee's grasping major issues is an important problem in connection with the principle of "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism." In order to fully play their leading role as the vanguard force of the proletariat in the historical period of socialism, the Party committees must grasp the major issues among all tasks, grasp them well, and guarantee implementation of the Party's basic line.

What Are the Major Issues?

At the beginning, many comrades did not understand unanimously what major issues were. Some of them said: The current movement of criticizing Lin Piao and rectifying style of work is an issue of prime importance. But, many concrete daily routines have to be put emphatically on the agenda of the Party committees and grasped as major issues. For instance, improvement of quality and attitude of service, varieties of grain, planned and economical consumption of grain, militia defense, literary and sports activities, birth control, settling of educated youth in mountainous and other rural areas, etc., also are related to the line and the policies. aren't they major issues as well? Others held that: We do the work on grain. Failing to do our work well will hinder industrial and agricultural production and adversely affect the life of the masses. How should we say that it is not a major issue?

What, after all, is a major issue?

All comrades conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's teaching: "In studying any complex process in which there are two or more contradictions, we must devote every effort to finding its principal contradiction. Once this principal contradiction is grasped, all problems can be readily solved." Reviewing the practice of the protracted revolutionary struggle in our country, they understood that: By grasping major issues, it means grasping the principal contradiction and grasping well the major issues which have decisive meaning in the situation of the revolutionary struggle as a whole.

During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, the national contradiction between the whole Chinese people and the Japanese imperialism was the principal contradiction. During the liberation war, the contradiction between the whole Chinese people on one side and imperialism, feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and their general representative Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule was the principal contradiction. During the historical period of socialism, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is the principal contradiction. Initiated and led by Chairman Mao, the great proletarian cultural revolution was a great political revolution launched by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. During the great cultural revolution, thanks to the repeated violent struggles, the two bourgeois headquarters led by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Biao were smashed. At present, the deep-going movement of criticizing Lin Biao and rectifying style of work is a major issue in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing restoration of capitalism. From this, we can see that, by grasping major issues, it means grasping the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines and firmly and unswervingly implementing the Party's basic line.

All comrades were of this opinion: Improving the quality of our work on grain and the quality of our service, etc., are naturally important matters. But, if we do not grasp the line, do not solve the problem of "for whom" but simply grasp our work on grain in an isolated manner, we may lose our bearings, slide onto the sidetrack of revisionism, and cannot possibly grasp well our work on grain. Lenin said: "If a class does not proceed from politics to correctly handle problems, it cannot maintain its rule and, therefore, also cannot solve its tasks of production." For this reason, in order to do well our work on grain, we must perseveringly put proletarian politics in command. Politics and vocational work, major issues and minor matters cannot be separated from each other. They are dialectically united and are related to each other as the commander and the commanded, the key link and other things. Only when the key link is grasped can other things fall into place.

Is It Possible Not to Grasp Major Issues?

Comrade Chou En-lai points out in his political report to the 10th Party Congress: "Quite a few Party committees are engrossed in daily routines and minor matters, paying no attention to major issues. This is very dangerous. If they do not change, they will inevitably step on to the road of revisionism." Some comrades did not understand this passage deeply at first. Some said: "The Party Central Committee is chiefly responsible for the major issues, while the grassroots-level Party committees carry out the concrete tasks. Whether revisionism is practiced or not is determined by the higher level, not by the lower level." Other comrades held that there was "no set mold" for grasping major issues while the vocational work and production were "stereotypes." Still others said that grasping major issues was not a concrete task and would produce slow results, and it would be better to grasp the concrete vocational work and productive tasks because they produced fast results.

Should and could grassroots-level Party committees grasp major issues? Taking Nan-wu-i road grain store and Yingtse grain station for example, we

concretely analyzed the conditions of changes in their outlooks of revolution and production, thereby solving this problem and also the problem of so-called "no set mold," "stereotype," "fast results" and "slow results." The basic reason why Nan-wu-i road grain store could become a red banner on the front of financial and trade work throughout the municipality was that it grasped major issues and the line and struggled against the class enemy, the revisionist line, the bourgeois ideology and the unhealthy tendencies. Now it is still going on struggling. This is a "set mold."

"Grasp class struggle and all problems can be solved." This is a universal truth. Yingtse grain station formerly did not grasp major issues tightly, so that it lagged behind in revolution and production. Its Party committee grasped the major issues time and again. But, it carried out concrete tasks in an isolated manner. As a result, some achievements were made but, some time later, the situation became the same as it had been before. This year, after summing up its past experience, the Party committee first took a firm hold of the criticism of Lin Biao and rectification of style of work, criticized the "theory of extinction of class struggle" and "theory of productive forces," criticized the bourgeois ideology, conscientiously studied and appreciated the essence of the documents of the 10th Party Congress. The workers and staff members of this grain station greatly heightened their ideological consciousness, grasped major issues, worked vigorously, thereby bringing about a new situation in revolution and production. From this, we can see that grasping minor matters means solving problems for the time being and grasping major issues means solving problems fundamentally; grasping minor matters seems to produce fast results, but, actually, slow results are produced; grasping major issues seems to produce slow results for the time being, but, fundamentally, fast results are produced. This is a "stereotype."

After studying, discussing and analyzing these two typical cases, we came to realize that: The Party committee must grasp major issues-- this is determined by the nature and the tasks of our Party as the vanguard force of the proletariat. Our Party's historical task is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, to substitute the dictatorship of the proletariat for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, to defeat capitalism with socialism and to attain the final goal of realizing communism. If the Party committee does not grasp major issues, that is, if it does not implement the Party's basic line but indulges and buries itself in minor matters and "neglects discussion of major issues and handles minor matters everyday," it will become an organ for handling concrete daily routines. Then, it will run counter to the nature and tasks of the Party, lose its political bearings and its fighting force of a Party organization and, as time goes by, it will inevitably step on to the road of revisionism. Therefore, in order to "practice Marxism, and not revisionism," we must grasp major issues and the line. This concerns not only the Party Central Committee, but the Party organizations at all levels as well.

In the course of study, we also summed up experience and lessons from the several tendencies which easily emerged when we grasped major issues in the past. This helped us heighten our understanding. In the past, when work of selling grain was busy during the period between the end of one month and the beginning of the next month, we often put aside the major issues

and grasped business exclusively. When work of selling grain was slack in the middle of the month, we concentrated energies on grasping major issues. We grasped major issues when a political campaign arrived but we grasped minor matters at ordinary times. In this way, the quality and attitude of service of the grain store were good sometimes but bad at other times, and problems of the same nature often recurred. We tried to locate the root cause in our thinking and came to realize that: Actually, we have put politics and vocational work in opposite positions, and we take the implementation of the Party's basic line as a temporary task and regard the criticism of revisionism as a matter of short duration. This is very harmful. Lenin said: "We must not forget politics even for a minute." As long as class struggle exists, the struggle between the two lines will not stop. Therefore, problems of line must be talked over and grasped every day. This is a militant task which has to be carried out on a long-term basis.

How Should We Grasp Major Issues?

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." During the period of socialism, class struggle is very complicated. There are contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and also contradictions among the people, and these two kinds of qualitatively different contradictions are often mixed up with each other. The Party committee must go deeply into reality to investigate conditions, pay constant attention to analyzing the fundamental relations among different classes, understanding the tendency of class struggle, making concrete analysis of concrete problems, and strictly distinguishing between the two kinds of qualitatively different contradictions.

Some time ago, we discovered that some young workers and staff members of the basic-level grain stores were particular about food and clothing and admired the bourgeois ways of life. This was a form of struggle of the bourgeoisie for winning over the younger generation from us, but it found expression among the people. To resolve this contradiction, we should not criticize the young people as we criticize the enemy but should strengthen the Party's leadership over youth work and tightly grasp the education for these young workers and staff members. Therefore, we organized them to recall past sufferings, to compare them with their present happy life and to hear reports on the political situation. We also ran spare-time schools and study classes and organized them to study politics and vocational work and to carry out healthy recreational and sports activities. We cited promptly the good personalities and good deeds among them and led them to the track of the proletarian revolution.

Problems of class struggle and two-line struggle are not abstract but are related to concrete work and concrete tasks. Therefore, in grasping major issues, we must grasp them by separating them from various branches of concrete work. In carrying out activities of learning from Nan-wu-i road grain store, some other grain stores at first learned from its advanced

experience, followed its pattern and learned things superficially. As a result, they worked very hard but could not produce good results. Later, we made investigation and summed up experience in the ideological and political line and discovered that the key lay in the fact that the leadership of these grain stores did not make clear the problem of line, failed to grasp the keylink and, therefore, could not study well. The members of our Party committee went deeply into the grassroots level, stayed there and took responsibility for grasping leadership and making clear the problems of line, and aroused the masses in depth. As a result, an upsurge of learning from the advanced was whipped out in an earth-shaking and down-to-earth manner within the scope of the general store, and a big number of advanced grain stores emerged.

To grasp major issues well, the Party committee must bring into full play the role of the revolutionary committee and the relevant departments. Otherwise, the daily routines of various working departments will easily be pushed to the Party committee and, as a result, the Party committee will inevitably be confined to daily routines and the major issues can hardly be put on the agenda of important matters.

For some time in the past, our Party committee and the revolutionary committee did not draw a clear demarcation line between themselves, so that even the administrative problems about tables, benches and catering fees for the staff were brought up for study at the meetings of the Party committee. Later, we set up the system governing the holding of working conferences by the revolutionary committee and various functioning departments. The ordinary concrete tasks were carried out by various departments concerned, so that these departments might perform their duties and do their work well. Attention was also paid to bringing into play the role of the trade union and the Communist Youth League organ. As a result, fewer concrete tasks were brought up for discussion at the meetings of the Party committee, and the Party committee could also concentrate its energies on studying major issues regarding the general situation.

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Conduct Line Education in the Light of Reality

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Dec. 10, 1973)

During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, the Party branch of Chingho brigade, Nancha commune, Huai-an hsien, Kiangsu province, conducts lively and vivid education in the Party's basic line among the masses inside and outside the Party in the light of reality, thereby enabling the masses to deepen their understanding of class struggle during the historical period of socialism.

In 1971, after this brigade's output of paddy in the first quarter had surpassed the "National Program for Agricultural Development," the Party branch put forward the clarion call to make "paddy output surpass 900 catties per mow." At that moment, some cadres wanted to ask a responsible comrade of the hsien committee--who was then staying to work in this brigade--for the supply of some extra chemical fertilizer. Some members of the Party branch committee also held that something "special" would be needed in order to reap a high yield. The Party branch of the brigade did not take this kind of thinking as a serious problem. Later, failing to get this "special" favor, a certain production team resorted to all possible means to establish connections by holding feasts and giving away presents, and bought some chemical fertilizer from other localities. This attracted the attention of the brigade Party branch. After seriously analyzing this situation, it came to realize that, in the course of developing agricultural production, whether we would uphold self-reliance and arduous struggle or adopt undesirable tactics and go against the State plan was a major issue regarding which line we should carry out. Immediately after that, it put forward this problem for discussion and analysis among Party members, cadres and the masses of the whole brigade by raising it to the high plane of the line. This not only quickly checked the evil wind of establishing connections indiscriminately for buying chemical fertilizer, but also whipped up an upsurge of extensively accumulating and making natural fertilizer. The Party members took the lead in gathering green grass and leaves, scooping mud from the riverbed, self-reliantly setting up a bacterial fertilizer plant and vigorously developing pig raising, thereby increasing the amount of fertilizer applied to each mow of land from 100 catties to more than 130 catties. In that year, this brigade reaped a good harvest of paddy of 931 catties per mow.

The struggle between the two lines is violent in the countryside. After a problem has been solved, it tends to appear in another form after a period of time. "The tendency toward capitalism will become rampant if we in the slightest way neglect political work among the peasants for a very long period of time." Therefore, the problem of struggle between the two kinds of ideology and the two roads cannot be grasped once and for all, but must be grasped constantly and repeatedly.

Brick making is a side-occupation in this brigade. The purpose of making bricks also involves a struggle. In Chingt'i production team, a kiln-load of bricks was made for building a pigsty in order to develop pig raising. It was then the time for the year-end distribution. Some cadres sold the bricks at a high price in order to raise the level of year-end distribution.

The Party branch of the production team criticized this. These cadres felt that they had been wronged. They held that they had not appropriated the money for their own private use but had done this for the benefit of all. The Party branch pointed out: The production team makes bricks and sells them at a high price--this is a tendency toward capitalism. Grasping this matter, the Party branch held a brigade-wide discussion of the question "How should side-occupation serve agricultural production?" This enabled all to see that the development of side-occupation also involves a major issue of what line we should adhere to. This also orientated side-occupations toward socialism.

Some time ago, someone among the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements in Chaoch'ang production team told a bad story. Some Party members held that this was only "wild talk" and so paid no attention to it. To make all Party members attach importance to class struggle in the realm of ideology, the Party branch of the brigade called an enlarged meeting and organized the Party members to criticize the class enemies. But, not long after that, some people in Hsinchien production team talked lavishly about emperors, kings, generals and ministers. After making an analysis and investigation, the Party branch realized that this was chiefly because the masses had not been fully aroused during the last criticism campaign and active measures had not been adopted for occupying the cultural positions in the countryside. Drawing on this experience, it first aroused the masses at all levels to penetratingly criticize the trash of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism, to see clearly that the class enemy would launch attacks on all fronts, and to attach importance to class struggle in the sphere of ideology, in addition to the struggle on the political and economic fronts. At the same time, it aroused the CYL members, militiamen and women to run a library; it organized story-tellers, newspaper readers and members of literary and artistic propaganda teams to vigorously propagate the new personages, new deeds and new ideas of the proletariat. This year, upon discovering that some people spent their money on feasts and gifts after reaping a bumper harvest and other people borrowed money for buying watches, the Party branch adopted such means as criticism meeting to criticize extravagance, waste and the bourgeois ideas and styles. It also compiled stories of "Never Forget the Traditional Styles" and told them to the cadres and the masses, so as to help them establish the correct styles of the proletariat.

As a result of this education, the cadres and the Party members further raised their consciousness of the line and consciously paid attention to grasping the line. For instance, the father of Chou Ming-li, a member of the Party branch committee, is a carpenter, and Party member Chao Hsueh-sheng's elder brother is a mason. Formerly, they taught some apprentices, got double pay and accepted gifts. Later, these two Party members applied the Party's basic line in analyzing this problem. They realized that carrying out side-occupation individually and teaching apprentices privately was a tendency toward capitalism and getting double pay was a deed of exploitation. Therefore, they requested the brigade Party branch to conduct socialist education among the handicraftsmen and to organize a handicraftsman's side-occupation group which, in the same way as the old workers leading the new

in a factory, constituted the new relationship between master workers and apprentices, and to give the handicraftsmen reasonable wage points and remuneration in accordance with the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." The brigade Party branch adopted their opinion and directed the work on handicraftsmen onto the socialist track.

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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Struggle for the Purpose of Adhering to the Principle
of Party Spirit

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Dec. 10, 1973)

The Party cadres of a certain unit under the PLA Wuhan Command study the New Party Constitution while bearing their personal experience in mind. They realize that the most important thing in implementing Chairman Mao's idea and line of Party building is to struggle courageously for the purpose of adhering to the principle of Party spirit. The following articles give an account of a few Party cadres' experience.

*

Only by Acting Without Any Selfish Considerations
Can One Struggle Courageously

by

Shao Wen-te, a Party branch committee member and a
platoon leader

This happened not long after I had been promoted to be a cadre. Taking advantage of his functions and powers, a principal leading member of our company privately bought some oil from the food supply unit of the company. Should this matter be brought up for criticism? I had worries at that moment: This comrade is my superior in administrative organization. He also is a principal leading member of our Party branch. It is really rather embarrassing to criticize him in person.

Why did I feel this embarrassing? I dug at the root cause in my mind and found that individualism was hiding behind this "fear." I thought that the leader would like me if I put forward fewer opinions and acted as an "obedient" cadre; it would be disadvantageous to me in the future if I put forward more opinions on the leader and became a "disobedient" cadre. When I "was seriously imbued with selfish ideas and became weak-minded," and was preoccupied with worries my courage in struggle was dampened. I ruminated over Chairman Mao's instructions on active ideological struggle and felt that: Whether or not we dare to criticize other comrades, especially the higher-level leading comrades, in person on their shortcomings and mistakes is a means for showing whether we Communists have pure Party spirit or not. This criticism also represents our true love and concern for the comrades and the leaders. I am a Communist. Regardless of my personal gains, I must establish the dauntless revolutionary spirit of struggling against all erroneous ideas and deeds.

With this understanding and after making an investigation, I criticized that cadre at a meeting of the Party branch committee, pointing out that his deed was an encroachment on the benefits of the PLA fighters and was disadvantageous to the implementation of the principle of building the Army by developing democracy in the three main fields as charted by Chairman Mao. While criticizing him, I also examined my selfish and impure ideas. That cadre made deep-going self-criticism and commended me

for my spirit of daring to make criticism. After this event, the Party branch formulated a system requiring the cadres to develop democracy in economic affairs, and asked every cadre to carry out this system resolutely, thereby drawing the ties between officers and men closer and cementing the unity between officers and men. *

We Must Encourage the Subordinates to Display
Their Militant Spirit

by

Nieh Chung-yuan, a battalion Party committee
secretary and a political instructor

A cadre in our battalion was fond of finding "fault" and often criticized me on my shortcomings and mistakes. Our unit was once carrying out the task of drilling a tunnel in a certain mountainous area. Time available was short and the demand for quality of work was high. To increase working efficiency, I exchanged opinions with the few committee members who remained in the battalion headquarters and changed the working hours from the "three-eight" system into the "four-six" system. As a result, in the course of work, there emerged the phenomena that "smoke caused by explosion was not expelled completely from the tunnel, and working hours and recesses were in a mess," so that progress of work was hindered. This cadre sharply criticized me in public on this shortcoming. At that time, his work also showed a loophole and he was criticized by the higher level. Some comrades said in dissatisfaction: His face is covered with dust. Yet he likes to find dirt on other people's faces. Why doesn't he try to see himself in the looking-glass? Others even suggested taking this opportunity to take disciplinary action on him, so as to smother his "fire." A similar idea flashed across my mind after I had heard these opinions. On second thought, I felt that I would be selfish if I acted in this way. This method of work actually meant taking the opportunity to repress criticism and to retaliate and was an abominable bourgeois style of work.

Seeing this point, I had a correct view toward this cadre: First, when Party cadres courageously make criticism and self-criticism, political life within the Party can be activated and the "squad members" of the Party committee can resist better the political dust of the bourgeoisie. Some comrades like to find "fault." We must see what kind of "fault" they want to find. We should welcome them if they mean well to our work and our comrades. This comrade sharply points out the leaders' shortcomings and mistakes--this represents his true love and concern for the leaders and the comrades and his strong sense in adhering to the revolutionary principle and reflects his high consciousness of the line. We should not negate his strong point of daring to put forward opinions because he has committed mistakes. In no way should we take advantage of his mistakes in work to blow cold wind at him, to retaliate against him or to dampen his enthusiasm. Second, the shortcomings and mistakes in his work are caused by inexperience and are inevitable in the course of progress. As his superior and leader, I should, first of all, see my own responsibility from the shortcomings in the basic-level cadre shown in the course of progress. I must seriously handle a

comrade's mistake and should all the more help him enthusiastically, so that he may learn his lesson and march forward in a better way.

I reported my opinion to the Party committee and won its approval and support.

After unifying their opinions, the "squad members" of the Party committee sincerely helped this cadre in correcting his mistakes and encouraged him to do away with his worries and to display his militant spirit of daring to find "fault." After that, he plucked up his revolutionary courage again, continued to put forward his opinions courageously. The leaders and the comrades unanimously said that he "criticized sharply, found 'faults' reasonably and help others enthusiastically!"

★

We Must Strengthen Concept Toward Policy

by

Lu Hsin, a Party branch committee member and a
supply officer

"Policy and tactics are the life of the Party." We must adhere to the principle of Party spirit. In handling a problem, we must not give free rein to emotion and go against the Party's policy. This incident taught me a rather impressive lesson.

Not long ago, a cadre of the No. 9 production team in the area where our company was stationed called on me and asked me to buy a few tons of coal in the name of our army unit for his production team in making bricks and tiles. I thought to myself: Our company and the poor and lower-middle peasants of the No. 9 production team have been in constant contact over the past few years and have cultivated deep friendship. If we don't help them in buying coal, this doesn't sound reasonable and this would embarrass us. Failure to handle this problem well may also impair the relations between the Army and the people. Moreover, this production team buys coal for the collective, not for private purposes. By innovating its ovens, our company has saved large quantities of coal for the state. It is entirely possible for us to buy a few tons of coal for them. So, I told this cadre that there was estimably no problem in buying a few tons of coal for them. I reported this matter to the Party branch.

After making an analysis, other members of the Party branch committee said: Coal is supplied according to the state plan. It is against the state's policy if we buy coal indiscriminately for other units. In considering a problem and doing a thing, a Communist must proceed from the general situation, and in no way should he proceed from personal emotion and violate the Party's policy. The Party's policy represents the basic interests of the people, and carrying out the state's policy precisely aims at cultivating relations between the Army and the people on this correct foundation.

Furthermore, our company saves coal for supporting the state's socialist construction, and the coal thus saved should be allocated in a unified manner by the state and should not be disposed of by the company as something of its own.

This analysis taught me an impressive lesson on policy and discipline. I came to realize that: If I give free rein to personal emotion and have a weak concept of the policy, I shall have divorced myself from the principle of Party spirit. After that, I went on my initiative to explain the matter clearly to the production team, winning support and commendation from the cadres and the masses of the production team. To help this production team solve its problem of fuel for making bricks and tiles, the fighters and I found spare time to go gather large quantities of firewood and dried grass on the high mountains lying some ten li away and gave them to the production team.

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Proceed from the Interests of the Overwhelming Majority
of the People

- an account of Wang Hsueh-chien, secretary of the Party committee of Shuangkou commune, Suining hsien, Kiangsu province

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Jan. 5, 1974)

"The supreme test of the words and deeds of a Communist is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people." For many years in the past, Wang Hsueh-chien, secretary of the Party committee of Shuangkou commune, Suining hsien, Kiangsu province, has imposed stern demands on himself and conscientiously served the people in accordance with this teaching given by Chairman Mao.

Wang Hsueh-chien has already been working for 14 years in Shuangkou commune. To give an account of his deeds, we cannot but begin with the time when he came to Shuangkou.....

He Thinks as the Masses Think and Takes the Urgent
Needs of the Masses as His Own Needs

Shuangkou Commune is situated on both banks of the former course of the Yellow River. Before the liberation, the land here became alkaline after a flood and the strong winds blew up white clouds of dust. People called this a poverty-stricken place where "the rabbit wouldn't make its burrow and the wild geese wouldn't stop for a rest." After the liberation, the Party led the local masses to initiate a campaign to eliminate poverty. But, due to the sabotage by some bad elements who had sneaked into the leading group of the commune, Shuangkou again faced some difficulties: Production dropped, the commune members' daily life was adversely affected, and some people agitated emotionally. In this situation, the Party sent Wang Hsueh-chien, who had formerly served as a deputy hsien chief, to work in Shuangkou.

Wang Hsueh-chien came to Shuangkou in August, 1959. As soon as he laid down his luggage, he went to join the masses. In five days, he visited every village and production team in the whole commune and called more than 30 informal meetings. The poor and lower-middle peasants told him eagerly: "Comrade, most of the land in our Shuangkou commune is alkaline. Once this alkaline land is transformed, Shuangkou will win its emancipation. Lead us quickly to work!" But, a few cadres shook their heads: "If this sterile land which our ancestors left behind can be transformed, we won't wait until today." Wang Hsueh-chien ruminated over this question: The masses are eager about changing the backward outlook. Why is it that a few cadres are not eager about it?

"When the masses are eager about changing the backward outlook, what should we cadres think about? And what should they do with urgency?" Wang Hsueh-chien often asked the commune cadres these questions. Some of them gave an answer, others evaded these questions and still others blushed on hearing them. Wang Hsueh-chien felt that this was the crux of the

problem. After exchanging their views, he and some comrades held that: To transform the backward outlook of Shuangkou production team, the first thing is to change the mental condition of the cadres of Shuangkou commune. They decided to proceed from the education in revolutionary traditions.

Early next year, Wang Hsueh-chien led the members of the commune Party committee, the responsible cadres of the organs directly under the commune Party committee and the secretaries of Party branches of various brigades and, treading through the knee-deep snow, came to the martyrs' mausoleum at Chiwan brigade to hold an enlarged meeting of the commune Party committee. After paying respect to the martyrs, Wang Hsueh-chien brushed away the snow on the ground with his hands and took a lump of earth in his hand, asking: "What kind of land is this?"

"It is seriously alkaline land where seedlings never grow."

"How many plots of such land did we poor and lower-middle peasants have before the liberation?"

All were caught by this question. The overwhelming majority of those present in this meeting had nothing of their own before the liberation, and their forefathers toiled like beasts of burden for the landlords and rich peasants!

"Have you ever asked yourself how this land was brought back to our hands?" Wang Hsueh-chien fired another question.

Almost all the comrades present at the meeting were born and grew up in Shuangkou. Many of them formerly took part in or witnessed the fight to liberate Shuangkou. Remembering the martyrs who had sacrificed themselves, the cadres compared the present conditions with those of the past. Their hearts were heavy: Eleven years have elapsed and yet the land which the martyrs had watered with their blood has not shown any remarkable change in its backward outlook. How can we not hang our heads in shame?

Wang Hsueh-chien also was deeply excited. He said: "Some people said that the land at Shuangkou was no good. But, the 56 martyrs who are lying beside us did not give it to the enemy because it was no good. For the interests of the people, they bravely sacrificed their lives. Is there any reason why we cannot exert ourselves to change the outlook of this place? The masses are eager to change the backward outlook of this place. But, we do not take the urgent needs of the masses as our own needs. Are we cadres of the Communist Party worthy of the name?"

This touched off the battle to change the backward outlook of Shuangkou commune. In 1964, Chairman Mao issued the great call "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." Wang Hsueh-chien told the cadres about the Tachai spirit and led them to dredge rivers, sink wells and plant trees through self-reliance and arduous struggle, to change vast areas of upland fields into paddy fields, and to take comprehensive measures to transform alkaline land, combat sandstorm and eliminate waterlogging. In the struggle during these years, he thought about problems as the masses would do, took the urgent needs of the masses as his own, and worked vigorously. Injuries and illness didn't bother him; nor was he affected when his son sacrificed himself.

In 1968, the struggle between the two classes and the two lines was very violent in Shuangkou area. Wang Hsueh-chien and the cadres were also fighting intensively to transform the alkaline land and build water conservancy projects. One day, Wang Hsueh-chien was working on a worksite when he received a long-distance call, saying that his eldest son had bravely sacrificed himself and asking him to go there immediately. He was shocked at hearing this news. During the years of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, he and his son were comrades-in-arms in the same trench. His son was only 12 years old when he took him to join the 8th Route Army. Class affection and parental love surged in his heart. Other people were worried that this old secretary would not withstand this shock. But, despite his deep grief, he said firmly: "He died for the interests of the people, and it was a worthy death." He told his wife not to grieve while he himself persisted in working at the worksite.

Wang Hsueh-chien and cadres of the whole commune fought ardently for several years, putting waterlogging under permanent control and harnessing soil alkalinity and sandstorms. Canals formed a network studded with mechanical wells throughout the commune. The former alkaline land, sandy fields and low-lying plots have now become high-yield fields, orchards and "treasure basins." In the commune, per-unit-area output of ginned cotton surpassed 100 catties as a result of efforts in the past six years, and grain output in 1972 also surpassed the "National Program for Agricultural Development." In 1973, they again defeated such natural disasters as low temperature, excessive rain, drought and insect pests, again reaping a bumper harvest of both grain and cotton: Per-mow output of ginned cotton was 130 catties and that of grain 620 catties. They were making ever greater contributions to the state.

He Constantly Bears the Party and the People in Mind

Whenever they mentioned Wang Hsueh-chien, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Shuangkou always say: "He constantly has the poor and lower-middle peasants on his mind." "When the masses have had enough clothes to keep themselves warm, he doesn't feel cold; when the masses have eaten their fill, he doesn't feel hungry." These words are really a description of the flesh-and-blood relations and heart-to-heart friendship between Wang Hsueh-chien and the masses.

A flood befell Shuangkou in 1963. To fight against the disaster and carry out rescue operations, Wang Hsueh-chien braved winds and rain and passed one sleepless night after another. On the eve of the Spring Festival, heavy snow fell for a few days running. He was anxious about the well-being of the commune members of the several brigades which had been severely stricken by disaster, so he had no appetite and could not sleep well. He was busy delivering to the calamity-stricken masses the relief provided by the Party and the state. Before dawn on the day of the Spring Festival, he woke the commune cadres one by one, saying: "We are Party cadres. In the eyes of the masses, we are the Party's representatives. It is now snowing heavily. We must go down deeply to help the masses solve their difficult problems!" His words infused zeal into the hearts of all cadres.

As soon as day broke, Wang Hsueh-chien put on a bamboo-leaf rain-coat, took a bamboo stick in hand, put a loaf of cold bread in his pocket, shouldered a coil of cotton padded quilts and, braving the bone-piercing cold wind, came to Taichao brigade where the calamity was the most serious. When he came to 51-year-old poor peasant Chao Yung-p'ei's house, Chao had not gotten out of bed yet. Hearing his voice, Chao hurried out of bed and put on his clothes, saying: "Old secretary, it is snowing heavily and yet you've come to see me!..." Before this old man had finished saying what he wanted to say, Wang had already put a cotton-padded quilt into his arms. Looking at Wang Hsueh-chien who was covered with flakes of snow, Old Chao who had suffered bitterly in the old society was so deeply touched that he did not know what to say.

That day, Wang Hsueh-chien visited more than 30 production teams, calling on surviving dependents of martyrs, family dependents of servicemen, "five-guarantees" households (widows, widowers, the childless, the orphans and the crippled) and need families.

In Kaochi brigade, he discovered that there was no water left in the water jug in the house of Kao Chia-chen who was in his seventies and whose family was a "five-guarantees" one. Immediately he took a bucket to fetch water from a well nearby. His left hand had been wounded by an enemy bayonet during the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, four fingers stuck together, and his palm had also been pierced by a bullet. He found it difficult to manipulate the rope fastened to the bucket for drawing water from the well. So, he had to pull up a length of rope with his right hand, hold the rope fast between his teeth, and then pull up another length of rope again with his right hand. He fetched water from the well one bucketful after another in this way until the water jug was full before he left to visit another household.

.... By noon, some commune members had prepared some dumplings and invited the old secretary to join them in celebrating the Spring Festival. He refused no matter what they said. His coat was covered with flakes of snow and the leggings of his trousers were stiffened by the cold. Yet, chewing on his loaf of cold bread one big mouthful after another, he visited the pigsties and cowsheds, inspecting the animals and discussing with the cadres problems of protecting the animals over the winter. The commune members were touched to tears at seeing this. Taking him by the hand, they said: "Old secretary, you are devoted to the poor and lower-middle peasants wholeheartedly! Why don't you think about yourself?" Pointing at the loaf of cold bread and the preserved onion in his hand, he replied, smiling: "Isn't this fine? Before the liberation, I couldn't even get this kind of food!"

He Treats the Masses and Himself Correctly

Wang Hsueh-chien formerly took part in the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, the liberation war and the "Resist US and Aid Korea" War. During those years of fiery war, he fought north and south without regard for himself and rendered meritorious services in battle. After being transferred to the civil service in 1955, he worked conscientiously and diligently, trying to render meritorious services afresh to the people. But, he never boasted of being an old-timer and of the merits he had won.

Instead, he remained modest and prudent, guarded against arrogance and impetuosity, and paid constant attention to criticizing his own shortcomings and mistakes. The cadres and the masses praised him, saying that he "never boasted of his achievements, never displayed his merits but was fond of uncovering his defects."

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Wang Hsueh-chien firmly bore in mind Chairman Mao's instruction "you must put politics in command, go among the masses and join them in carrying out the great proletarian cultural revolution with still better results." He got together with the masses the whole day and accepted criticism and help actively from them. He summed up the criticisms and opinions put forward by the masses and ruminated over them seriously. He felt that he formerly had worked diligently and conscientiously but because of the influence by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, he did not read and study sufficiently, had a very weak concept of the two-line struggle and so committed mistakes on some questions, causing some damage to the Party and the people. As he thought of this, he felt that: Led by Chairman Mao, the current great cultural revolution is entirely necessary and very timely not only in preventing the restoration of capitalism in our country, but also in helping him to see and correct his mistakes. Otherwise, if he is engrossed exclusively in leadership over production and forgets class struggle and two-line struggle, he will go wrong and be cheated during the complicated struggle and bring still greater damage to the Party and the people. After that, he welcomed criticism more enthusiastically from the masses. In those days, people often saw him receive big-character posters from the revolutionary masses as if he was receiving some reports of good news, paste them on the walls of his house and on the door of his room, read them seriously and think over the problems carefully. He also summed up the opinions from the revolutionary masses, wrote big-character posters of these opinions from the masses and his self-examinations, pasted them on the wall, so that the revolutionary masses might further uncover and criticize his mistakes and help him heighten his consciousness of the two-line struggle.

The lively classroom of mass movement made Wang Hsueh-chien see that one of the important conditions for implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is that he must constantly and consciously accept criticism and supervision from the masses. For this reason, during the movement of Party consolidation and Party building, no matter at general meetings or at meetings held in fields or in the houses of the cadres and the masses, he asked the participants time and again to put forward their opinions of him. He said, "When I have shortcomings and mistakes, you must help me eradicate them and must not forgive me. Otherwise, minor defects will become big and chronic ones and bring great damage to the revolutionary cause!"

One day, two old poor peasants of Ch'enwang brigade sent a big-character poster to Wang Hsueh-chien, telling him that he had not properly handled the serious mistake committed by a cadre of their brigade, and criticizing him for his "right-deviationist" idea. The commune cadres aired their views enthusiastically. Some of them just shook their heads, saying that the opinion put forward in the big-character poster was unreasonable.

Others denounced the big-character poster for shooting at random and putting everything in the plane of class struggle. Wang Hsueh-chien said sternly to them: "Our power is given us by the people. The people have the duty and the right to criticize our shortcomings and mistakes. If we fear and reject criticism and forbid them to make criticism, we are following the work style of the Kuomintang!" He pasted this big-character poster in the most prominent spot on the wall.

The next day, Wang Hsueh-chien went to Ch'enwang brigade to hold a meeting of commune members. While propagating the Party's policy toward cadres, he examined his mistakes before the masses. He said in deep grief: "I have failed to educate and help the cadres adequately, so that this class brother has committed a serious mistake. I am responsible for it. His case has been handled in accordance with the Party's policy. But, I had neither discussed the matter with the masses beforehand, nor explained the matter to the masses and handed over to them the Party's policy toward cadres after the event. This shows that I distrusted the masses. Your criticism has hit me at the right spot."

Wang Hsueh-chien has drawn up a regulation for himself: Upon accomplishing a task, he must sum up his work seriously. If it is correct, he sums up experience and develop the achievement so as to create favorable conditions for fighting a similar battle in the future. If it is wrong, he will trace the causes ideologically and draw on experience and, at the same time, tell the masses the whole story, invite criticism and supervision from the masses and firmly correct his mistake.

In 1971, vast areas of upland fields were transformed into paddy fields for the first time in Shuangkou commune. As a result, total grain output reached a new high. In the midst of praise, Wang Hsueh-chien made a deep-going self-criticism at a meeting attended by 5,000 people. He revealed that, because of his inexperience, cropping distribution was irrational in some production teams, so that their paddy output was rather low and the growing of other crops was adversely affected. His self-criticism attracted strong response. Some cadres and some of the masses held that the achievements were primary, defects were inevitable and he should not be so serious about this problem. He said: "The achievements should be confirmed. But, in no way should we be blindfolded by our achievements and neglect the defects and mistakes in our work!" Later, he went to a few production teams concerned to make self-examination before the masses. The lesson he learned became experience for the masses.

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent and
Jen-min Jih-pao reporter

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A Vanguard Fighter Who Consciously Criticizes
Revisionism

- an account of Communist Ch'en Hsing-an

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Jan. 5, 1974)

During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work, Ch'en Hsing-an, deputy leader of a squad of the 3rd mechanized company of a certain unit under the Wuhan Military Command, realizes that revisionism is the principal danger at present and that a Communist should be a vanguard fighter in studying Marxism and criticizing revisionism. Therefore, he consciously exerts himself in this direction.

After the army unit has assumed the task of agricultural production, Ch'en Hsing-an perseveres in reading books and criticizing revisionism every day, no matter how busy he may be with his work and how tired he may be after the day's work. One night, it was already past 11 o'clock when he had finished working overtime in pumping water. Returning to his shed, he sat down to write notes on criticism of revisionism by the light of a kerosene lamp as he used to do. The comrades-in-arms stopped him, saying: "Deputy squad leader, you better go to sleep!" He replied: "If I do not grasp the major issue well, I shall feel ill at ease and cannot sleep soundly!"

The company once criticized Lin Piao's fallacy that "the country is wealthy but the people are poor." Taking into consideration the fact that the young fighters had never experienced suffering under the system of exploitation, Ch'en Hsing-an and the comrades of the criticism group went to make social investigation in the No. 5 production team of Wuhsing brigade near where the army unit was stationed, and obtained data on the striking contrast between the conditions before and after the liberation in this production team. This striking contrast between the new society and the old one made Ch'en Hsing-an see clearly that: Two different societies mean two different worlds. People of a particular class speak the language of that particular class. Lin Piao and company were the sole agent of the landlord and bourgeois classes. They advocated the "wealth" of the landlord class and the "strength" of the exploiting classes, in a frenzied attempt to revive the landlord and bourgeois classes which had been toppled by the broad revolutionary masses and to make them ride roughshod over the people again. How malicious they were! Filled with anger, he wrote a critical essay that night. Citing the historical facts of how the poor peasants of the No. 5 production team and his family won emancipation, and applying the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, he analyzed Lin Piao's reactionary viewpoint. At the criticism meeting held in the company the next day, he fired the first "shot." This "shot" hit the mark. Citing the histories of their families and their villages, the comrades enthusiastically aired their views, totally discrediting the reactionary fallacy that "the country is wealthy but the people are poor."

Ch'en Hsing-an also paid attention to leading the masses to criticize revisionism. Three of the fighters in the platoon were illiterate and had difficulties in making criticism. As soon as he was free, he would help them study culture and explain to them the revolutionary theories. Before the criticism meeting, he tutored them. After the meeting, he helped them by teaching them "remedial lessons." With his help, these three comrades made progress rather quickly and dared to speak out at criticism meetings. They also could write simple critical essays.

The 3rd mechanized company launched a battle on the "theory of genius." Ch'en Hsing-an spoke with deep indignation. But, he lost his tongue before he could make himself clear. He belonged to the cultural level equal to that of a primary school student. It was very difficult for him to make this problem clear. His criticism was confined to the word "genius."

"Little Ch'en, you can't fight a battle unarmed!" What the political instructor said enlightened Ch'en Hsing-an. He made up his mind: to scale the peak of theory.

Ch'en Hsiang-an tried to delve into the Marxist-Leninist works. To him, the new characters and phrases were like tigers crouching along his road of progress. To overcome this difficulty, he obtained a dictionary and asked other people to teach him. He lived in a lake-side area lying over one li away and separated by a river from the company headquarters. Despite the inconvenience, he often went back to the company headquarters to ask the comrades to teach him. He lived in a small shed, where the intense heat of the sun in summer in south China was suffocating and mosquitoes were in swarms at night. Yet, he persevered in studying the works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao there every night.

Day in and day out, constantly dropping water can wear away a stone. Ch'en Hsing-an learned step by step: Marxism holds that genius comes from practice and the masses are the real heroes. Lin Piao and his company wilfully distorted the Marxist statements and advocated that "innate ability" is the source of knowledge. Their aim was: to chart a political line in accordance with their idealist line of knowledge and to oppose the Party's basic line in the historical period of socialism; to disguise themselves as "geniuses" and "heroes" and to usurp Party leadership, seize state power and restore capitalism.

At the next company-wide meeting to criticize the "theory of genius," Ch'en Hsing-an made criticism on a sound theoretical basis, deeply enlightening other comrades.

Practice is an effective criticism. Ch'en Hsing-an and his comrades-in-arms went further to criticize the "theory of genius" in the light of the practice of the struggle for production.

Their squad was once assigned to do the mechanical work of the whole company. A few comrades were stunned by the sight of such machines as pumps and dredgers. Ch'en Hsing-an said with firm determination: "Practice produces genuine knowledge. I don't believe in the 'innate ability' advocated by Lin Piao and company!" By the light of a kerosene lamp, he helped the comrades in studying "On Practice." Beside the machines, he and others delved

deeply into mechanical work, disassembling and reassembling the machines, trying to master the temper of the "iron tigers." Eventually, they had a good grasp of the performance of the machines and the techniques of operating these machines. This living fact further disproved the lies told by swindlers like Lin Piao and testified to the great truth that knowledge stems from practice.

Is genius derived from individuals or from the masses? Bearing this new problem in mind, Ch'eng Hsing-an continued to look for an answer from practice.

For some time, Ch'en Hsing-an was responsible for the dredgers. The comrade in charge of levelling of fields pointed out to him that the fields were not levelled. Ch'en Hsing-an made a careful observation and found that the fields really were uneven and studded with pits. How should this job of levelling the land be done well? Being inexperienced, he called a meeting of "advisers" of the whole squad. Some comrades talked about the techniques of operating the dredgers, others about the problem of controlling the speed, and still others about their experience of one thing and another. He pooled their opinions and summed up their practical experience. He also got together with the comrade responsible for levelling of fields to carry out practice and to grope for the laws. With the help by the masses, dredging was carried out quickly and well.

Citing these facts, Ch'en Hsiang-an went on criticizing the "theory of genius," making all understand unanimously that: Genius is not derived from individuals but from the practice of the masses. Even a simple productive activity like dredging can also demonstrate the social nature of knowledge.

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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He Is Honest and Acts Without Any Selfish Considerations

- an account of Cheng Ken-kuei, secretary of the Party branch of Chinghua brigade

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Jan. 5, 1974)

Secretary of a rural Party branch, Cheng Ken-kuei is praised by the people of Lini hsien, Shansi province, as an old model in carrying forward the Party's fine traditions.

Since the agrarian reform, Cheng Ken-kuei has been a basic-level cadre. For the past two decades and more, he has constantly preserved a Communist's political color of selflessness, hard work and plain living. Under his leadership, Chinghua brigade, Nlutu commune, was rated in the past few years as an advanced unit in learning from Tachai in agriculture.

In doing his work, Cheng Ken-kuei resolutely followed Chairman Mao's teachings, honestly acted in accordance with the Party's principle, and never carried himself as a special person. During the movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture, Chinghua brigade conscientiously implemented the policy of "Take grain as the key link and insure all-round development." Its output of grain and cotton grew continuously, and bumper harvests were also reaped in side-occupations and other economic crops.

In the orchard, the tree branches were bent with the weight of red peaches. Seeing this cheerful scene, Chia Feng-hsiang, a commune member who looked after this orchard, thought to himself: Old Party branch secretary Cheng Ken-kuei has done a great deal of arduous labor in this orchard. Now that a bumper harvest of peaches is reaped, he should by all means taste this fresh fruit. He specially chose a basket of the best peaches and sent it to Cheng. Reading Chia's thoughts, Cheng said to him seriously: "Old Chia, we should not eat or take what is not our due share. This is the old rule in our Chinghua brigade. I can only take the lead in carrying out this rule and should not be the first one to violate it." Seeing that Cheng was firm in refusing to accept the peaches, Chia could only pick a few peaches from the basket and forced them into his hand, saying that he at least must taste a few of these peaches. Cheng put these few peaches back into the basket. Taking Chia by the hand, he said eagerly to him: "Our brigade forbids this practice. I can take neither a basketful of peaches nor a single peach. Even if I take one bite of a peach, I shall have discarded the Party's fine tradition!" What he said infused warmth into Chia's mind.

Cheng Ken-kuei often said, "Without the attitude of doing things honestly and seeking truth from facts, one cannot correctly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line." In March, 1972, the hsien leadership held a meeting to learn from Tachai in agriculture. The brigades whose average cotton output was 100 catties or more per mow were commended at the meeting. Chinghua brigade was among the units commended. It was announced at the meeting that Chinghua brigade's output of cotton was 125 catties per mow. Back from the meeting, a brigade cadre reported to the Party branch on how the brigade had been commended. Cheng Ken-kuei asked: "Our brigade's average output of cotton was unmistakably 105 catties per mow."

Why has it now become 125 catties?" Seeing that he was so serious, a member of the Party branch committee said to him: "Our cotton output has surpassed 100 catties per now anyway. Whether this figure is correct or not, we are sure to receive commendation. Moreover, our output has been made known to the public. If an announcement is made to correct it, our brigade's reputation may be impaired. It is all right as long as we pay attention to this problem in the future." Cheng Ken-kuei replied sternly: "If a Communist does not uphold the attitude of seeking truth from facts, he will go against Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Our output should be reported exactly as it is, not even one catty too much!" That afternoon, he went to the commune headquarters to review the brigade's report on its cotton output. He discovered that 125 catties was an estimated figure reported to the commune at the beginning. Immediately, he explained the matter to the commune Party committee, made a self-criticism and corrected the figure.

Everywhere in Chinghua brigade can be heard the story of how Cheng Ken-kuei delivered an electric transformer.

This was how it happened: Chinghua brigade had an electric transformer which had not been installed for use. The neighboring Tz'uyang production team of Wangliao brigade urgently needed a transformer for its fight against drought. So, its leader called up Chinghua brigade by telephone, expressing his intention to borrow the transformer. Upon receiving this call, the cadre of Chinghua brigade responsible for the work in this connection thought to himself: "The transformer is worth 1,000 yuan. What should be done if it is damaged by the borrower?" So, he replied: "The transformer is out of order." The caller failed to get what he wanted.

Upon learning this, Cheng Ken-kuei called on that comrade and said to him meaningfully: "If a man does not speak the truth, he will bring damage to the cause of the Party and the people." What he said deeply touched this comrade. On his own initiative, this comrade examined his mistake before the comrade of Tz'uyang production team and promptly lent the transformer to Tz'uyang production team.

NCNA correspondent

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How a Hsien Party Committee Exercises Leadership over
the Work of a Revolutionary Committee

- an investigation in Jutung hsien, Kiangsu province

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Jan. 11, 1974)

The revolutionary committee of Jutung hsien, Kiangsu province, has under its standing committee comprising 13 members. It is a leading group formed by army-men, cadres and the masses and in accordance with the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young. When the new CCP committee of Jutung hsien was set up, six of the leading members of this revolutionary committee also became leading members of this hsien Party committee. For some time, the activities of the hsien Party committee replaced the activities of the hsien revolutionary committee. The hsien Party committee once conducted an open-door rectification campaign. Some comrades put forward their opinions on this point. The leading comrades of the hsien Party committee attached great importance to their opinions and held that the first prerequisite to solving this problem was to heighten the understanding of the leading member of the hsien Party committee. In the course of reading and study, they studied the statements of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on the Party's leadership. They came to understand that: Of the seven sectors--industry, agriculture, commerce, culture and education, the Army, the government and the Party--it is the Party that exercises overall leadership. They further strengthened their concept toward the Party. After studying the doctrines of Marx and Lenin on the state and Chairman Mao's instructions on the revolutionary committee, they understood clearly that: The local revolutionary committees at all levels are standing organs of the state's local bodies of power under the leadership of the Communist Party, are primary people's governments and have their own functions and powers. On this foundation, they again studied the Marxist-Leninist statements on the relations between a political party and its political power and Chairman Mao's "Methods of Work of Party Committees" and summed up their experience in the light of the actual conditions of work done by the hsien Party committee and the hsien revolutionary committee. They understood deeply that: The Party committee exercises overall leadership, but it does not take everything into its hands. If it adopts the method of taking everything into its hands, the hsien Party committee will inevitably be imbued with routinism and fail to grasp major issues. This is disadvantageous not only to the Party in strengthening centralized leadership, but also to the revolutionary committee in exercising its functions and powers and strengthening dictatorship of the proletariat.

With thinking raised to a higher level, the hsien Party committee attached importance to strengthening its leadership over the hsien revolutionary committee in connection with ideology and line.

It first helped the hsien revolutionary committee in building a revolutionized leading group. Its leading members led the leading members of the hsien revolutionary committee to read and study, so as to raise their level of understanding the Marxist-Leninist theory; they showed constant concern for the ideological conditions of the leading group of the hsien revolutionary committee and promptly helped it solve problems encountered.

For instance, some representatives of the masses in the standing committee of the hsien revolutionary committee came from mass organizations holding differing viewpoints. After joining the leading group, they were still estranged from each other to a certain degree. The leading comrades of the hsien Party committee educated them on many occasions by such means as meetings and personal chats, and helped them consciously resist intervention by the bourgeois factionalism and strengthen unity on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, so that the revolutionary committee became a fighting body.

For another example, in 1971, agriculture in the whole hsien was in a rather favorable situation, and some members of the hsien revolutionary committee showed signs of being complacent with the current situation. The hsien Party committee immediately organized them to criticize revisionism, rectify their style of work, combat arrogance and break with complacency and helped them establish the ideas of enduring hardships and working vigorously for the revolutionary cause and developing agriculture on a big scale and quickly. This gave an impetus to the deep-going development of the hsien wide movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture.

The hsien Party committee constantly gave the hsien revolutionary committee guidance in connection with the line, directives and policies. When giving the hsien revolutionary committee an assignment, the hsien Party committee first explained clearly to it the Party's line, directive and policy. When the hsien revolutionary committee sought advice from it, the hsien Party committee paid attention to giving it guidance in connection with the line, directive and policy, so that various branches of work done by the hsien revolutionary committee could progress in accordance with the Party's line, directives and policy. In the course of a movement, the hsien Party committee carried out education in the Party's basic line among the leading members of the hsien revolutionary committee and the relevant working personnel and helped them continuously heighten their consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle and correctly approach and handle problems of contradiction and struggle between different classes. After lifting the lid of class struggle, the hsien Party committee further helped them heighten their concept toward the policy and correctly distinguish between the two kinds of qualitatively different contradictions. As a result, the Party's policy was put into effect, the handful of class enemies were beaten, the majority of the cadres and the masses were united and educated, the dictatorship of the proletariat was strengthened, and the positions of socialism were consolidated.

After carrying out study, going through practice and summing up experience, the leading members of Jutung hsien revolutionary committee realized that they must accept but must not be dependent on the leadership from the hsien Party committee. Their revolutionary sense of responsibility grew. Under the centralized leadership of the hsien Party committee, the hsien revolutionary committee actively exercised its functions and powers as an organ of political power, played its role in consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, and assumed responsibility in leading and organizing industrial and agricultural production. When meeting problems of the Party's line, directive and policy and handling matters regarding

production plans and major changes, the hsien revolutionary committee discussed them by meetings of its standing committee or by working conferences and then actively sought advice from the hsien Party committee. It conscientiously studied and actively implemented the suggestions made by the hsien Party committee on the tasks for an organ of political power.

A vice chairman of the hsien revolutionary committee made a rather extensive investigation of the hsien-wide movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture and suggested "doing well the work on the production teams lagging behind." After submitting this suggestion for discussion by the hsien Party committee and obtaining its approval, the hsien revolutionary committee promptly organized propaganda teams comprising more than 800 people and sent them to work separately in some backward production teams. This vice chairman personally grasped typical cases and called meetings to exchange experience, thereby pushing the backward production teams forward.

Not long ago, the hsien Party committee decided to change the conditions of agricultural production. The hsien revolutionary committee conscientiously implemented this decision, promptly organized forces to carry out survey and planning and called meetings of cadres of the district and commune levels to draw up dispositions of work. As soon as autumn harvest and plowing came to an end, more than 120,000 people with laboring ability were organized to set out for the worksites in the whole hsien. An upsurge of farmland capital construction was whipped up in winter.

The hsien Party committee also showed concern for the people's cultural life and well-being and organized activities in this connection. It actively led and organized the work throughout the hsien regarding educational revolution, birth control, protecting the health of women and children, mass creation of literature and fine art, and mass scientific experiment. As a result, various socialist undertakings developed briskly under the guidance of the Party's correct line.

Many of the hsien revolutionary committee members were representatives of the revolutionary masses. The hsien revolutionary committee attached great importance to bringing into play these committee members who were not detached from production. It paid attention conscientiously to the conditions revealed by them, listened to their opinions and demands, and encouraged them to take an active part in the management of political power.

In the spring of 1973, the hsien Party committee and the hsien revolutionary committee made a decision on the deep-going unfolding of the movement to criticize Lin Biao and rectify style of work and the further implementation of the Party's economic policy in the countryside. A representative of the revolutionary masses aroused the cadres and the masses in the commune where he was to carry out this decision. He also submitted a written summing-up report to the hsien Party committee and the hsien revolutionary committee, thereby providing the whole hsien with experience in work in this connection.

- the Investigation Group under the CCP Committee
of Nant'ung Administrative District, Kiangsu
Province

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Strengthen Concept Toward the Party, Give Full Play to
the Role of the Revolutionary Committee

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Jan. 11, 1974)

The revolutionary committee of Yaochai commune in Nantan hsien, Kwangsi, constantly organizes its leading members to penetratingly criticize Lin Piao's crimes in sabotaging the Party's leadership, helps its members to go on strengthening their concept toward the Party and does its work actively under the centralized leadership of the Party committee. It plays the role of the revolutionary committee quite well.

The leading members of the revolutionary committee of Yaochai commune formerly were divided in opinion on the problem of how to bring the revolutionary committee into play. Some of them said: "The revolutionary committee is an organ of political power. It should handle its problems independently and should not trouble the Party committee." Others held that in order to protect the Party's centralized leadership, it would be necessary to obtain the Party committee's consent in all matters, large or small. To help all its members understand and handle correctly the relations between the Party committee and the revolutionary committee, the revolutionary committee organized them to carry out study and hold discussions time and again, to criticize Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary crimes in sabotaging the Party's leadership, and to make clear that: The Party must exercise overall leadership and the revolutionary committee is an organ of political power and should in no way be divorced from the Party's leadership. But, accepting leadership from the Party does not mean that the Party committee's consent must be obtained in doing anything, important or trivial. Under the guidance of the Party's correct line and policy, the revolutionary committee exercises its functions and powers to the full and accomplishes all militant tasks assigned by the Party--this is precisely a concrete expression of the revolutionary committee's will to protect the Party's leadership.

With thinking unified, the revolutionary committee of the commune grasped the strengthening of the concept toward the Party's leadership as an important matter in the building of the proletarian political power. Its members were strict with themselves in achieving this end: When confronted with issues that concern the line and the policy, they submit them to the Party committee for decision and do not handle them arbitrarily. They actively report to the Party committee the conditions of their work, so that the Party committee knows and is well-informed of the disposition and progress of the work done by the revolutionary committee. They resolutely and boldly carry out the work in accordance with the decision made by the Party committee. When problems arise, they actively solve those they can solve; they actively report to the Party committee the problems which they cannot solve, and make relevant suggestions.

Tungchia brigade in this commune is situated in a remote mountainous area. Remunerations for raising of draft cattle had not been paid for a long time, and numerous problems remained unsettled. The commune Party committee drew up a plan for handling these problems in the light of local conditions and sent a vice chairman of the revolutionary committee to handle them concretely. While carrying out this plan, he discovered that this plan

still could not embody very well the Party's economic policy in the countryside. After repeatedly discussing this plan with the poor and lower-middle peasants, he drew up a new plan on handling the problems, submitted it to the Party committee and sought its advice. After studying his new plan, the Party committee found that it could embody still better the Party's policy and the actual conditions, and adopted it. Acting in accordance with the Party committee's decision and relying on the masses, he worked boldly. As a result, the policy on draft cattle which had not been carried out in the past few years was implemented quickly and won great support from the masses.

The revolutionary committee of Yaochai commune has learned from practice that the key to giving full play to the role of the revolutionary committee under the centralized leadership of the Party committee lies in heightening the consciousness of its members in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies. It constantly grasps problems of the orientation and the line in the light of the central tasks assigned by the Party and the new situation of the development of revolution in each period of time, organizes its members to read and study conscientiously and helps them build up their ability to distinguish between the correct line and the wrong line and to heighten their consciousness in the struggle between the two lines.

The commune revolutionary committee once sent a standing committee member who was deputy leader of a production group to stay and work in Lilo brigade which lagged rather far behind in production. He went from one spot to another the whole day, urging the commune members to work vigorously and quickly, but paid no attention to grasping criticism of Lin Piao and rectification of style and slackened criticism of the tendency toward capitalism, so that the work remained in a passive situation. Upon discovering this problem, a vice chairman of the commune revolutionary committee got together with him to study the Marxist basic principle that class struggle is the real motive force in historical development and, citing his experience, helped him appreciate the spiritual essence of the Party's basic line and induced him to see the danger brought about by his failure to see the road when pulling a cart and by negligence of the "key link" and deviation from the "line," thereby making him understand that: Only when a firm hold is taken of the major issue of class struggle and two-line struggle will it be possible to promote work vigorously; if work is promoted without adhering to the correct orientation, it will become more and more passive and may even slide into the quagmire of revisionism.

After that, this standing committee member went down to investigate conditions and aroused the masses to vigorously lift the lid of class struggle, to roundly criticize Lin Piao's crimes in frenziedly altering the Party's basic line and policies and to hit at the class enemy who fanned the evil wind of giving up agriculture and taking up commerce. He also educated those who were seriously imbued with the spontaneous ideas for capitalism, and materialized the Party's economic policy in the countryside one item after another. As a result, revolution and production in this brigade attained the advanced level of the commune very quickly.

The commune Party committee twice summed up and popularized the experience of this brigade in grasping major issues and promoting daily work. This gave a great impetus to the development of revolution and production in the whole commune.

- Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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Conscientiously Do a Good Job of Taking in Party Members of Minority Nationalities

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Jan. 11, 1974)

Lints'ang area in Yunnan is inhabited by people of various nationalities. Acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching "A proletarian party also must get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, so as to keep itself vigorous," the Party organizations at various levels pay particular attention to bringing up and taking in Party members from among people of minority nationalities. The number of Party members of minority nationalities recruited in the whole area since 1969 represents 33.4 percent of the total number of new Party members recruited. In Ts'angyuan and Kengma nationality autonomous hsien, Party members of minority nationalities account for 62 percent of the total number of Party members. After the Party organizations have taken in new Party members of minority nationalities, favorable conditions are created for strengthening the Party's leadership, implementing the Party's nationality policy, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and further developing the cause of socialist revolution and construction in this border area inhabited by minority nationalities.

A few years ago, some units of this area carried out the work of bringing up and taking in Party members of minority nationalities. Due to intervention by the revisionist line pushed by swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Biao and influenced by a sense of Han chauvinism, some comrades neglected the characteristics of the border areas inhabited by minority nationalities and wrongly held that it was not very useful to take in new Party members of minority nationalities because they could not write and speak the Han language. Others had worries and held that it was better "to impose stricter requirements, to take in fewer members and to do the work slowly." In the light of this wrong understanding, the Party committees at various levels conscientiously organized their members to study the statements of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on Party building, to study the Party's policy toward minority nationalities and to penetratingly carry out revolutionary mass criticism, thereby making them understanding more clearly that: Conscientiously doing a good job of bringing up and taking in new Party members of minority nationalities is of vital significance in strengthening revolution and construction in border areas inhabited by minority nationalities. The outstanding elements who have emerged from among people of minority nationalities warmly love the Party, Chairman Mao and the socialist system, maintain close ties with the local people and have rich experience in carrying out the three great revolutionary movements in areas inhabited by minority nationalities. It is necessary to rely closely upon them in order to consolidate border defense and make a success of revolution and construction in areas inhabited by minority nationalities. Actively and prudently bringing up and taking in new Party members of minority nationalities and expanding the Party's ranks creates favorable conditions for further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and strengthening the Party's leadership.

With understanding heightened and thinking unified, the Party organizations at various levels grasped the bringing up and taking in of new Party members of minority nationalities as an important task. The

organizational department of the administrative district Party committee also summed up and propagated the experience of Ts'angyuan Wa Autonomous Hsien in taking in new Party members of minority nationalities in the light of actual conditions in the border areas. Party organizations at various levels in the whole district adopted various means to hold study classes for those applying for Party membership and the activists, organized them to read and study, and consciously sent them to receive tempering in the three great revolutionary movements. They upheld the standard for Party membership in the light of actual conditions in the border area. Taking into consideration the characteristics of minority nationalities in the border area, they made historical, all-round and concrete analysis of some common problems which arose frequently. In handling problems concerning those applying for Party membership, they strictly distinguished between ordinary problems and political problems and did not handle ordinary problems as political problems. In handling problems of the history of family members of those applying for Party membership, they perseveringly distinguished these problems from those of the applicants themselves and attached importance to the applicants' political performance.

Because his elder brother had historical problems, Li Ch'un-hua, a commune member of Yi nationality of Suankelin brigade, Mengp'eng commune, Chenk'ang hsien, applied for Party membership many times but did not succeed. Later, the Party branch made an all-round, concrete analysis of his case and found that he had adopted a correct attitude toward his elder brother's problems and he himself had all along behaved well and was eligible for Party membership. With approval by the Party branch, he was admitted into the Party.

In the Party committees at all levels in Lints'ang area, thanks to the efforts made to conscientiously grasp the work of taking in new Party members of minority nationalities, a contingent of cadres of minority nationalities with Party members of minority nationalities as its backbone has begun to take shape. At present, 67 Party members of minority nationalities have taken leading positions at or above the commune level. A new Party member, Chao Sai-chia is posted as deputy secretary of Ts'angyuan hsien Party committee. Na Hai, a new Party member of Lahu nationality, and Hsiao Hsiao-hsiang, a female Party member of Yi nationalities, have been admitted into the standing committees of the Party committees of Kengma hsien and Chenk'ang hsien respectively. In early 1973, many of the representatives of minority nationalities from the four border hsien, namely, Ts'angyuan, Kengma, Chenk'ang and Shuangchiang, to the representative conference of activists were Communists, of whom 52.2 percent were new Party members.

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondents

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After the Delegate to the 10th Party Congress Returns
to His Production Brigade

- an account of Li Ch'ien-yu, secretary of the Party branch
of the No. 7 production brigade, Feilung commune, Wusheng hsien

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Jan. 11, 1974)

A delegate to the 10th Party Congress, Li Ch'ien-yu is a member of the CCP Committee of Nanch'ung administrative district, Szechwan, a member of the Party committee of Wusheng hsien, and secretary of the Party branch of the No. 7 production brigade of Feilung Commune.

As soon as he came back to his hometown after the triumphant conclusion of the 10th Party Congress and without taking a rest, Li Ch'ien-yu crossed hills to visit the eight production teams of the brigade, actively propagating the spirit of the 10th Party Congress and inspecting production.

On the stony ridges, the commune members were removing the stones to transform the land for growing crops; in the fields, the masses were carrying out deep plowing and careful cultivation and intensively harvesting crops and sowing seeds. Wherever he might be, the cadres and commune members eagerly asked Li about one thing and another and freely talked about what they had learned from the documents of the 10th Party Congress. Li was deeply touched by all these.

"The documents adopted by the 10th Party Congress are the beacon light illuminating the road of continued revolution. What immense power they generate!" Li Ch'ien-yu was determined to put the study of the documents of the 10th Party Congress and the implementation of the spirit of the 10th Party Congress in the first position in the work of the Party branch, to grasp major issues, to work vigorously and to direct the movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture to develop in ever greater depth. At his request, the Party branch held a study class for training Party members, CYL members, basic-level militiamen and educated youths of the whole brigade. After that, he led 78 backbone elements to go separately to the fields and worksites and the courtyards in villages to propagate the spirit of the 10th Party Congress and to penetratingly criticize Lin Piao's revisionist line during recesses in the course of labor, on rainy days, at night and during the free moments before and after a meal.

Four commune members of the No. 3 production team were away from the village throughout the year to feed ducks. Li Ch'ien-yu specially sent out somebody, walking more than 60 li to take them copies of the documents of the 10th Party Congress, to organize them to study and discuss these documents. These four comrades were moved, saying: "Old Li is very considerate. He sends us the documents of the 10th Party Congress which we have been eagerly hoping for!"

Bringing with him copies of the documents of the 10th Party Congress, Li Ch'ien-yu came to the No. 8 production team, got together with team leader Ch'en Ho-ch'ing to study character by character and sentence by

sentence the "three-do and three-don't" principles and had heart-to-heart chats with him while studying. Formerly, Ch'en Ho-ch'ing and Communist Chao Jen-shan held differing opinions and were not on good terms with each other. Through study and heart-to-heart chats this time, Old Ch'en was enlightened. He went on his own initiative to hold heart-to-heart chats with Chao Jen-shan and made criticism and self-criticism. The barrier between them was removed very quickly.

Leader of the No. 4 production team and a Communist, Li Fang-ming is a cadre in his twenties. Some time ago, he neglected production in the production team and wanted to go to another locality to learn carpentry. This change in Little Li attracted the attention of Li Ch'ien-yu and other cadres of the brigade. It was discovered that the son of a former landlord was making trouble secretly, saying that "a carpenter could get good food to eat, earn cash income and have some money of his own after giving over the share due to the production team." Li Ch'ien-yu immediately called a meeting of the Party branch committee to analyze and study this problem conscientiously. The committee members unanimously held that this was by no means a minor matter but a serious class struggle and a major issue concerning which road we should follow. Li Ch'ien-yu got together with Li Fang-ming many times to study the Party's basic line, to review the reflection of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in the local district and in his production team, and to roundly criticize the crimes of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their company in frenziedly altering the Party's basic line. He said to Little Li: "We must never forget the Party's basic line, never loosen the line of class struggle and never stop transforming our world outlook. Otherwise, we shall lose our bearings during the acute and complicated class struggle and two-line struggle." All these words pulled at Li Fang-ming's heartstrings. At a meeting of commune members, Little Li, in deep chagrin, examined his wrong ideas and criticized his tendency toward capitalism. He bravely shouldered again the heavy loads of revolution and production.

Beautiful ideological and political flowers will invariably bear bounteous economic fruit. Inspired by the spirit of the 10th Party Congress, the broad masses of cadres and commune members in the No. 7 production brigade of Feilung commune firmly bear in mind the Party's basic line and penetratingly carry out the movement to criticize Lin Piao and rectify style of work. Their enthusiasm for revolution and production surges higher. At present, they are vigorously launching the movement for carrying out farmland capital construction and accumulating winter manure and are actively creating conditions for reaping a bumper harvest in agriculture.

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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The Change in an Old Party Branch Secretary

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Jan. 11, 1974)

It was the busy season for autumn harvesting and sowing. The cadres and the commune members of the No. 2 production team of Hsiao Chuang brigade in Wuch'ing hsien skirting Tientsin municipality were gathered in the field, conducting revolutionary mass criticism. Pointing at three baskets filled with maize, the masses of commune members wrathfully questioned a bad element: "You say. Why had so many stalks of maize been dropped?" Slyly defending himself, the bad element replied timidly: "Perhaps the meshes of the basket were too big, and the stalks dropped through them." "Rubbish! Stalks dropping through the meshes could only fall onto the ground. But the stalks you had dropped grew in the fields...." This bad element was speechless and could only bow his head in acknowledgement of his guilt.

Old Party branch secretary Chang Hsing presided over the criticism meeting that day and joined others in making criticism. He said: "Commune members! Two years ago, bandit Lin Piao turned against the Party and the country, resulting in his own final rejection of the people. Two years later, the class enemy refused to remain in peace despite that bandit Lin Piao had gone to his doom. What does this illustrate? This illustrates that we must never forget class struggle."

Immediately after that, the brigade Party branch aroused the masses to criticize Lin Piao's crimes in frenziedly altering the Party's basic line and policies and to criticize the class enemy's reactionary activities of undermining production and inciting other people to follow the capitalist trend. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants further heightened their consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle, quickly carried out the militant tasks set forth by the 10th Party Congress, and whipped up an upsurge of autumn harvest and wheat growing.

When this meeting was over, people asked each other: At meetings in the past, our Party branch secretary only talked about attaining the target laid down in the "Program" and crossing the "Yellow River" chiefly through hard work. Why is it that he now talks about class struggle and two-line struggle?"

This change in the old Party branch secretary began after the conclusion of the 10th Party Congress.

When news of the 10th Party Congress was brought to Hsiao Chuang brigade, the old Party branch secretary told himself that this was an important matter of the whole Party and the whole country. Putting on his glasses, he read the documents of the 10th Party Congress over and over again. "All the comrades of our Party must pay close attention to the question of line." He ruminated over this sentence. He recalled that: When he led the movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture in the past, he only learned the style of hard work and did not learn to grasp the line. He worked from dawn to dusk. At meetings, he kept talking about plowing, sowing and weeding. As a result, their work could make no headway and could not be carried out quickly. Even though their work was carried out, yet it involved the question of

which line should be followed. A Communist must lead the masses to take the socialist road and to "practice Marxism, and not revisionism." This really is a major issue concerning the line!

After that, the old Party branch secretary paid attention to grasping the line first of all in grasping production.

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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Workers Must Also Concern Themselves with the Line

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Jan. 11, 1974)

We have learned this deeply from practice in the past years: Workers who participate in enterprise management should not just take care of money, materials and production but should chiefly concern themselves with the line and take an active part in exercising revolutionary supervision over the leading cadres.

Early last year, because the leaders of our colliery cherished the wrong idea that "grasping output could bring about greater results and grasping quality was something invisible," the rate of lump coal in the first quarter failed to attain the target laid down in the state plan. In the light of this problem, the coal-dressing workers wrote a revolutionary big-character poster entitled "Judging Whether the Line Followed by the Leading Group Is Correct or Incorrect by the Failure of the Rate of Lump Coal to Attain the Target Laid down in the State Plan." This big-character poster hit the mark and took the words from the workers' mouths. The leadership immediately called a meeting to discern the line and arouse the masses to participate in enterprise management. It also adopted a series of measures. Various economic targets were attained in an all-round manner. The rate of lump coal set new records four times in a row in the history of this colliery. The volume of coal dressed and the rate of lump coal surpassed the targets laid down in the state plan by 7.9 percent. Another 142,000 tons or more of lump coal was recovered. Public accumulation increased by 1,150,000 yuan.

Practice shows that: Once the masses of workers and peasants directly participate in the three great revolutionary movements, read and study diligently and master the telescope and microscope of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, they can understand the problems of line and supervise and help the leading comrades in standing the test of line.

Wei Shih-kung, a veteran worker and a communist of Haichou Opencut Colliery, Fouhsin, Liaoning

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Adhere to the Correct Line, Actively Train Young Cadres

by

the Party Branch Committee of Tachai Brigade

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, February 13, 1974)

With the young cadres growing up one group after another, our Tachai brigade has set up a leading group on the principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young. At present, of the 24 cadres engaged in various lines of trade in the brigade, 13 are young cadres. Of the nine members of the Party branch committee, two are old cadres over 50 years of age, three are middle-aged cadres of around 40, and four are young cadres of 25 or so. Three of the members of the Party branch committee are female cadres. The accounts office, the scientific experiment group, the forestry team and the farm-machine management department of the brigade are staffed with young cadres. For many years in the past, we have actively trained new cadres in accordance with Chairman Mao's proletarian line and policy toward cadres. After more than two decades' training and testing, the young cadres, like Liang Pien-liang and Sung Li-ying who were formerly trained in the "old and young group" have now become principal backbone elements in Tachai brigade's leading group and are shouldering the revolutionary heavy load of leading the construction of a new Tachai. Young cadres like Kuo Feng-lien, Chia Ts'un-so and Chia Ch'ang-so who have received training since the great proletarian cultural revolution have begun to take over their shift in the revolutionary cause. The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai say happily: "Before the revolutionary forerunners have become old, a younger generation of new men emerges.

What are the standards for the training of young cadres? This involves a violent struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. If young cadres are trained in accordance with Chairman Mao's proletarian line and policy toward cadres, Marxism must be practiced and the socialist road be taken without fail. But, swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao went all out to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and used the ideology of the landlord and bourgeois classes to corrode the young cadres, in a frenzied attempt to restore capitalism. Training young cadres is also a struggle between corrosion and the drive against corrosion.

Perseveringly Uphold the Five Requirements in Selecting Young Cadres

The five requirements charted by Chairman Mao are the yardstick in selecting cadres. But, Lin Piao used the "sinister three requirements" to alter and oppose the five requirements and trumpeted the so-called "genius" and "super-genius" to intervene in and undermine our training of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. We may often hear this: So-and-so was born intelligent and capable. So-and-so was not born with the

caliber for that job." This is a kind of idealist transcendentalism. We met a similar problem when we started to train Liang Pien-liang.

During the initial period after the liberation, Tachai set up the "old and young group." The poor and lower-middle peasants wanted to select Liang Pien-liang to be a deputy leader of this group. Pien-liang was only 16 then and was not high in stature. He had just ceased to be a beggar. Some people were not confident in him as a cadre. The class enemy made malicious remarks of him: "He is a born pauper. How can he bear the standard?" Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei made an analysis: "Pien-liang suffered great hardships in the past and comes from fine roots. He warmly loves the Party and Chairman Mao. As long as the old help him patiently, this poor chap definitely can bear the standard!" Later, he was posted the first secretary of the League branch of Tachai brigade. Now, he is deputy secretary of the Party branch. He studies diligently, works conscientiously and goes to the fore to do manual labor. The masses say that he "is red ideologically, upholds fine styles in work and devotes himself wholeheartedly to the revolution." The course of growth of young cadres like Liang Pien-liang is a powerful criticism against the "theory of genius."

In selecting cadres, some people liked those who "spoke eloquently, were boastful and had a flattering tongue." They held that: "A simple-minded person has difficulty even in speaking his mind." In our opinion: Those who "are garrulous and do not match their words with their deeds" cannot succeed to the revolution. How can one be a cadre if one does not work in a down-to-earth way? Of course, by working in a down-to-earth way, it does not mean that one should be engrossed exclusively in work but that one should raise his head to see the orientation and adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Therefore, in selecting young cadres, we must see to it that they take a firm stand, follow a clear and correct orientation, act without any selfish considerations, take the lead in doing manual labor and are capable of maintaining ties with the masses. For instance, Chia Ch'ang-so is a young man who "is red ideologically, works vigorously and is present wherever difficulties are." We selected him to be a member of the Party branch committee. The Party members and the masses were satisfied with him. After taking his post, he persisted very well in displaying his strong point of going to the fore to work vigorously. Yet, he had two shortcomings in himself. One was that he seldom spoke and was poor in doing ideological work among the masses; the other was that he studied little and belonged to a low theoretical level. We commended his strong point, criticized his shortcomings and also helped him patiently in overcoming his shortcomings, so that he could grow up in an over-all manner.

Perseveringly Look at Young Cadres with the Viewpoint of "One Divided into Two"

To train new cadres enthusiastically, we must solve the problem of how to look at the young cadres. Some people are not sure of the young cadres, saying: "If the young girls are allowed to bear the standard, it is better for the old people to work a few more years." Others were not accustomed to the sight of the young cadres, saying: "The youngsters are

giddy-headed. They are bound to make irretrievable mistakes." A few others even tried to see the young cadres' shortcomings through a "microscope," saying that "young people nowadays are no better than the old people." All these views and ideas are wrong and are an obstacle to the training of young cadres. Why are they "not sure" of the young cadres? Take for instance Kuo Feng-lien and Chia Ts'un-so of our Tachai brigade who are in their twenties. They are young girls all right! But, we give them heavy loads to carry, and let them accumulate experience in the course of struggle, so that they gradually learn to work independently and take over the shift of revolution. The poor and lower-middle peasants are very sure of them. Who are "not accustomed to the sight" of the young people? The young people dare to think, to speak and to act and have initiative. If these are regarded as "irretrievable mistakes," they are not mistakes of the young cadres but reflect the shortcomings in the work done by the old cadres. The opinion that "young people nowadays are no better than the old people" is still more wrong. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, educated by the broad masses and, in particular, trained in the great cultural revolution and the movement of criticizing Lin Biao and rectifying style of work, these young people are growing up healthily. They are very promising and excel the older generation.

In training young cadres, we adhere to three principles: "Look at their strong points, find their shortcomings and grasp their characteristics." First, we must see that the mainstream among the young cadres is fine. "The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. This is especially so in the era of socialism." Second, we must admit that the young cadres have defects and shortcomings, on which our Party branch must focus its attention in conducting education. Third, in educating young cadres, we must grasp their characteristics. In the face of a mistake, we must help the young cadres refrain from "complaining of each other" and tell them that it will be all right if they take prompt action to correct a mistake when they have committed one. In the face of a defeat, we must help the young cadres sum up experience and continue to work. In the face of difficulties, we must help the young cadres stand up straight and overcome the difficulties. In the face of achievements, we must help the young cadres find defects and do their work more vigorously.

Perseveringly Test the Young Cadres in the Course of Struggle

It is not enough for a young cadre to have ordinary working ability alone. He must be sent to receive tempering in the storm of class struggle and be brought up into an advanced element who has a good grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, understands Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and has the spirit of going against the tide. "The philosophy of the Communist Party is the philosophy of struggle." By struggle, it means that one must wage struggle every day. Young cadres must never fear struggle, even if they are subject to imprisonment or guillotine. They should all the more be vigilant against the attack by the class enemy's sugar-coated bullets. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class enemy usually do not come forward openly to oppose you but will use the bourgeois ideas

to flatter you and exalt you to the skies. If the young cadres feel elated when they are praised, they will suffer a big loss and fall into a trap. Reviewing her growth, Kuo Feng-lien said: "Young cadres must grow up in the course of struggle. When I began to serve as a League cadre, I only knew that all I had to do was to work, to do more of the dirty, tiring and hard work. At that time, I knew nothing about class struggle and two-line struggle. After the great proletarian cultural revolution, I realize that Tachai has come forward through struggle and that we must uphold the philosophy of struggle."

Perseveringly Train Young Cadres in Practice

"A knife must be ground by a stone; a man has to be tempered in practice." Young cadres must take an active part in the three great revolutionary movements. Wisdom stems from practice, and methods come from among the masses. We roundly criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's "self-cultivation behind closed doors" and Lin Piao's "eruption of revolution deep in one's soul," and encourage the young cadres to go through practice. For many years in the past, we have asked the young cadres to stand tests in thinking, in work style and in manual labor and to vigorously transform their world outlook in the course of practice.

Former brigade leader Chia Ch'eng-jiang was the first accountant of Tachai brigade. In the past decade and more, he has trained two accountants. When he trained Chao Su-heng, he found that this young accountant was not interested in labor and did not work in the field and therefore was estranged from the masses. He requested the Party branch to send Su-heng back to receive tempering in agricultural labor. When Su-heng had passed the test of labor, he was later posted accountant and became a red housekeeper. He was also elected to be a member of the Party branch committee. In 1970 after the poor and lower-middle peasants had sent Chao Su-heng to study in Tsinghua University, the old brigade leader started to train another young accountant Chao Ts'un-t'ang. Ts'un-t'ang was a senior middle school graduate. While doing accounting work, he served as a laborer in this "agricultural university" of Tachai. He said: "Practice is a good classroom, where the poor and lower-middle peasants are my good teachers."

Perseveringly Train Young Cadres by Sending Them to the Masses

The poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai say: "Crops will die when they are separated from water and soil; the young cadres will change their political color if they are divorced from the masses." This sounds very sensible. Our young cadres of Tachai grow up under the supervision by the masses and are forever servants of the people. They perseveringly make revolution and adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. If, after serving as cadres for a few days, they sit high above the masses, confine themselves to issuing commands and orders and do not keep in contact with the masses, they will become commanders without soldiers. This is a kind of dangerous trend.

In spring last year, when CYL branch secretary Chia Ts'un-so went to attend a CYL congress held in the provincial government seat, Comrade Ch'en Yung-kuei bade her time and again: "Ideologically, you must compare yourself with those above you; in work, you must be stricter with yourself; in daily life, you must live as the masses do. When you are some sort of an official, you must not ask for a bigger house, or a private car, or a sit nearer the stage in a theater, or convenience in having your meals. If you do that, you will be divorced from the masses and discard your natural color of the laboring people." When the congress was in session, Chia Ts'un-so ate, lived and studied together with other delegates to the congress. She received profound education ideologically.

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He Learns Humbly from the New Cadres

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, February 13, 1974)

Yen An-kuang, secretary of the Party committee of Chuchou Power Plant, Hunan, has participated in the revolution for more than three decades. Whenever he sees that a group of new cadres take the leading positions, he feels very happy and thinks that this is a sign of prosperity of the Party cause.

Some time ago, the overhaul of the No. 7 boiler progressed slowly. Yen An-kuang criticized the lower level for failing to grasp overhaul tightly. At that moment, a young girl disagreed with him and fired a "shot" at him on the spot: "In my opinion, it is not the lower level which has not grasped overhaul tightly but that the leaders at the higher level did not go down to grasp overhaul!" She also pointed out sharply: "You do not criticize the leaders at the higher level but only criticize the lower level. This method of work is incorrect."

This young girl who fired the "shot" was Lo Yun-ying. A new cadre, she was a member of the municipal Party committee and a member of the Party committee of the power plant. Besides attending meetings and carrying out study, she remained at the basic level every day to labor together with the workers. The masses liked to associate with her. When they had opinions, they would willingly express them to her. She also readily transmitted to the Party committee the opinions of the masses.

This "shot" fired by Lo Yun-ying caused a shock among the old cadres. Some held that this young girl had been very impolite and had been too rude to the old secretary. But, Yen An-kuang praised Lo Yun-ying for firing this shot very well. He said: "Little Lo dares to express her opinions to us so sharply. This means that she held herself responsible for the old cadres and her work. This is a valuable character trait."

After that, Yen An-kuang not only worked arduously and penetratingly, but also was strict with himself and urged other leading comrades of the standing committee to go down together to participate in labor in workshops and workers' squad units and to tightly grasp the weak links. The task of overhauling the No. 7 boiler was accomplished very quickly.

One night, Yen An-kuang visited the workers' estate and had chats with the workers one household after another. Lo Yun-ying's neighbor told him that Lo read and studied every night without exception. Old Yen also discovered at the same time that Lo's room was still lit up. Entering the room, he saw that Little Lo was concentrated on the study of Chairman Mao's works and there was also on the table a notebook. Written on the pages of this notebook were characters new to her. Looking them up in the dictionary while reading, she already had read through the four volumes of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and some works by Marx and Lenin. Yen was deeply touched and admired Little Lo from the bottom of his heart. He thought to himself: It is no wonder that Little Lo accepts new things readily, supports the

correct opinions of the masses boldly and can endure great hardships in work. She has absorbed strength from the works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao.

Yen An-kuang worked as a shepherd as as a coal-miner when he was young. Neither his grandfather, his father nor he had studied in school. After participation in the revolution, he fought in trenches in battles against the Japanese aggressors, carried out mass work in enemy-occupied areas and began to learn to read. Starting in 1953, he learned culture for more than two years and ceased to be illiterate. When Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee called upon the cadres to read the books by Marx and Lenin, he found great difficulties in them and was sometime not very confident in his studies. Seeing Lo Yun-ying's diligence at study, he found where his own shortcoming lay. At meetings of the Party committee held on many occasions, he asked all to learn from Lo Yun-ying her spirit in diligent study. He also set an example by seriously reading the works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. In the past two years, he has finished studying six books by Marx and Lenin including "Manifesto of the Communist Party" and "Critique of the Gotha Program," and Chairman Mao's philosophic works.

- Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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After Reading a Big-Character Poster Put Up by the
Masses

- an account of a discussion held by the Party committee
of T'ungp'an commune

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, February 13, 1974)

Early one morning in August 1973, there appeared on a wall at the headquarters of T'ungp'an commune, Milo hsien, Hunan Province, an eye-catching big-character poster, criticizing the commune Party committee for the following points: First, the agricultural machine building plant was not run with the correct orientation; second, the Party committee did not match words with deeds in recalling manpower to the production teams; third, the Party committee secretary indulges himself in eating and drinking in the homes of the masses. This big-character poster aroused a strong response from among the members of the commune Party committee. Most of the comrades hailed this revolutionary action of the masses. But, a few comrades had these opinions:

"There are more than 10,000 people in our commune, who have divided opinion. Whom should we listen to?"

"Their opinions are good but sound too stinging to the ear!"

"Some opinions are ungrounded and are unacceptable."

What attitude should be adopted toward this big-character poster? At that moment, the happy news of the conclusion of the 10th Party Congress was transmitted to the commune. The Party committee of the commune studied and discussed the documents of the 10th Party Congress in the light of this problem.

Is This an "Alarm" or a "Matter of No Concern"?

"Many people have many opinions. Shouldn't we listen to them seriously?" The discussion started with this question.

"We should!" said T'u Shu-ch'iu, a member of the Party committee. "Many people have many opinions. This shows that the masses show concern for the revolution and the leadership. This is a favorable condition for doing our work well." He first criticized the wrong viewpoint. He also reviewed a lesson he learned in the past:

In 1965, Old T'u was responsible for the construction of a road for tractors extending to all parts of the commune. At that time, he thought that he knew very well every hill and every river in T'ungp'an commune, so he drew up a plan behind closed doors. The masses expressed their opinions on this plan. But, Old T'u refused to listen to them. As a result of the work in winter and the ensuing spring, a useless road was built, which the

commune members were unwilling to walk and was inaccessible to tractors. During the great cultural revolution, the masses criticized him harshly.

Bearing this matter in mind, Old T'u learned an impressive lesson, saying: "In expressing their opinions, the revolutionary masses mean to sound the 'alarm' for the leaders and to remind us not to go wrong."

"That is correct!" Yang Chien-hui, a Party committee member responsible for grasping the commune-run enterprises, also remarked: "The big-character poster points out that the agricultural machine building plant was not run with the correct orientation. This opinion is sensible. In the past, we confined our attention to making profits. As a result, we deleted the character 'agriculture' from the agricultural machine building plant, neglected the manufacture of products to aid agriculture and, instead, processed auto chassis and manufactured electric welding machines for urban factories. The masses have outspokenly pointed out the essence of the problem. We cannot but listen to them."

Why Can't We Accept Acute Criticism?

Tsou Sung-le, a Party committee member, also talked about what he felt when he saw the big-character poster: I burst with anger when I read the accusations of "failing to match words with deeds" and "saying one thing and meaning another" contained in the big-character poster. They could express their opinions which they might have. But, they shouldn't use such shrewd words! Later, I recalled Chairman Mao's teaching "We must be good at discovering the enthusiasm of the masses in its very essence," and became cool-headed gradually. I went again to read the big-character poster carefully. What the masses said was "accusing" but sounded very sensible. He recalled that, a few years ago, due to incitement by the class enemy and intervention by the revisionist line, a large number of laborers went off to do side-occupations in other localities. This hindered agricultural production. On second thought, I always held that the few items of side-occupations for which I was responsible brought great income and so I did not write them off but let the more than 300 laborers stay in the city. When the commune leadership acted this way, the lower levels followed its example, so that the labor force could not be concentrated on the first line of agricultural production. From this, we can see that the masses have not gone too far in accusing us of "failing to match words with deeds" and "saying one thing and meaning another," but have hit us where it hurts.

When the discussion had come to this stage, all committee members said: Since the masses have, by means of their big-character poster, hit where it hurts, why don't we seriously examine ourselves instead of finding fault with and blaming the masses? Huang Hung-yen, secretary of the Party committee, took the lead in eradicating the ideological roots. He said: "We refuse to accept the acute criticism from the masses. The only reason is that we fear losing our prestige and always feel that the leaders are wise and the masses backward. Facts show that the masses are the real heroes. If we courageously accept acute criticism from the masses and correct our mistakes, we do not lose our prestige but the political dust and germs of

the bourgeoisie. Instead, we obtain the real trust and support from the masses. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and other swindlers like them undermined the Party's fine styles for the purpose of divorcing our Party from the masses and changing its nature as the vanguard force of the proletariat. We must be vigilant against this and must never fall into their trap!"

How Should We Treat the Opinions Which Are Not
Exactly Right?

The discussion came to the question of how we should treat the opinions which are not exactly right. Party committee member Ch'en Ts'ai-kao said: "Not long ago, I and Old Huang went to Lichia brigade. At noon, the cook of the commune mess hall who was at home taking his day off asked us to come to have lunch with him at home. Old Huang refused to go at first but, failing to turn down the repeated invitations, he went there at last. The lunch comprised ordinary dishes one would expect at one's home. In the big-character poster, Old Huang was accused of indulging himself in eating and drinking at the homes of the masses. I was very much annoyed at reading this accusation. But, Old Huang did not look at it as I did. He said that the poor and lower-middle peasants put forward their opinions for the purpose of loving and protecting us and wanting us to attain the goal of 'Blame not the speaker but be warned by his words' and 'Correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not.' What Old Huang said enlightened me deeply and gave me great help." When Ch'en Ts'ai-kao had finished, Old Huang said: "After reading the big-character poster, I examined myself and felt that I had not completely wiped out the concept of privileges in my mind and I sometimes had the defect of carrying myself as someone special. This criticism by the masses is an immunization vaccination for us. In the future, we must pay attention to transforming our world outlook and never divorce ourselves from the masses."

After Old Huang had said this, the discussion became more animated. All committee members were of this opinion: If we want the masses to put forward perfect opinions but reject their opinions when they are not exactly right, we are doubtlessly sealing up the mouths of the masses and refusing to accept their criticism. In the long run, we shall invariably suppress freedom of speech and resort to the "rule by the voice of one man alone."

After this discussion, the commune Party committee called a congress of poor and lower-middle peasants to commend the revolutionary masses who put up the big-character poster, thereby further arousing all to put forward their opinions and point out any contradictions to the Party committee. The Party committee sent a representative of the poor and lower-middle peasants to the commune-run agricultural machine building plant to help reorganize the plant and to correctly orient the operation of the plant. The leading members of the Party committee personally urged the laborers who had gone away to other localities to come back quickly to the first line of agricultural production. An upsurge of vigorously carrying out farmland capital construction occurred very quickly throughout the commune.

- Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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On "Stings"

by

T'ang Sheng-p'ing (唐生平)

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, February 13, 1974)

The attitude adopted by the Party committee of T'ungp'an commune toward the "stinging" criticism from the masses is inspiring.

At first, some of the committee members said: "The opinions from the masses are good but sound too stinging to the ear!" Later, after making concrete analysis of these opinions, they understood that the spearhead of criticism and opinion was directed at the revisionist line and the bourgeois ideology, and that criticism of this type was fine indeed. Then, they humbly accepted such criticism and opinions and seriously examined their shortcomings and mistakes. From this, it can be seen that it is very important to adopt an analytical attitude toward the "stinging" criticism from the masses.

Revolutionary, militant criticism invariably "stings." In criticizing the bourgeois world outlook, the revisionist line and the wrong tendencies, should we mince our words and skip the vital points? After going through the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses show concern for the revolution in the superstructure and for the building of the leading group and dare to make acute criticism of wrong tendencies. This is a very inspiring phenomenon. Li Ch'ing-lien's letter demonstrating the spirit of going against the tide, Chang T'ieh-sheng's test paper which provokes one's deep thought, Huang Shuai's letter and diary pervaded with fighting spirit, and the letters and reports by Ch'ai Ch'un-tse and Chung Chih-min who made the most radical rupture with traditional ideas--all these "sting." What they wanted to "sting" was the revisionist line and the ideology of the exploiting classes of the past several thousand years. They were straightforward and hit the nail on the head, demonstrating the militant styles of the proletariat.

Why do some comrades fly into a rage instead of making a concrete analysis when they hear the "stinging" criticism? This is because they verbally admit that the masses are the real heroes but, when a concrete problem arises, they always feel that they are wiser than the masses. They like flattery, and not criticism. This is a very bad style of work. Communists should welcome and support the criticism from the masses and must not fear "stinging" criticism. To do so, they must penetratingly criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, criticize the idealist conception of history that "the elite are intelligent while the lowly are ignorant," criticize the "doctrine of the mean," establish the material conception of history that "the masses are the real heroes," and perseveringly uphold the Marxist philosophy of struggle.

Be brave in making criticism and self-criticism--this is one of the five requirements for Communists. "It is absolutely impermissible to

suppress criticism and to retaliate"--this has been entered in the Constitution of our Party. Since we are Communists, why shouldn't we act in accordance with the Party Constitution? In fact, if we try to cover up our mistakes and shortcomings, seal the mouths of the masses and suppress criticism of the higher level by the lower level, we can only be in a very passive situation in the long run.

"In the interests of the people, we persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong." A Communist should not be startled when he hears a "stinging" criticism from the masses. Instead, he should hear it patiently and make concrete analysis conscientiously. He should correct the mistakes if he has committed them and guard against them if he has not.

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Leaders Must March Ahead of the Movement

by

the Party Committee of Peking People's Machine Works

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Feb. 26, 1974)

"Leaders must march ahead of the movement, not lag behind it." With the mass movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius developing in depth, this problem shows its importance ever more conspicuously. We have learned from practice that the most important thing in solving this problem is that the leaders must adopt a correct attitude, shed their lofty airs and learn humbly from the masses.

Go Deeply among the Masses and Lead Them

When the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius started, our Party committee seriously studied Chairman Mao's relevant instructions, discussed ways to grasp this struggle as a matter of prime importance, and drew up a plan for carrying out this struggle in accordance with the old method of leading a movement before the great cultural revolution. Unexpectedly, as soon as we went into action, the whole machine works was in an uproar. The workers were filled with indignation and enthusiastically express their will to carry the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end and to act as the principal force in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.

On the day when the works was closed, the comrades of the trade union and the CYL committee of the works did not take their day off. They went to the workers' residential areas to propagate the documents of the Party Central Committee. Touched by their revolutionary fervor, we also went to carry out propaganda in the workers' residential areas. In simple and popular language, these comrades penetratingly criticized Lin Piao's crimes in trumpeting the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius and restoring capitalism. The criticism was rich in content and comprised both viewpoints and analyses, so that even old women in their seventies or eighties also could listen enthusiastically. We were deeply enlightened by the propaganda we conducted on that day. Those who suggested carrying out the struggle slowly for the reason that the workers belonged to a low cultural level and would meet difficulties in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius were actually obsessed by Confucius' fallacy that "the elite are intelligent while the lowly are ignorant."

For the purpose of marching ahead of the movement, our Party committee took the lead in putting up big-character posters to criticize Lin Piao's crimes in trumpeting the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius and restoring capitalism. But, before we had finished writing the big-character posters, the masses were already ahead of us in putting up big-character posters. So we again lagged behind them.

Why is it that we subjectively want to march ahead of the movement but tend to lag behind the masses eventually? We studied the documents once again and felt that it was chiefly because we had not put ourselves in a correct position. We always held that we led the masses and the masses were led by us; we were used to the method of issuing orders for other people to act on; instead of going first to learn from the masses, we drew up a plan behind close doors and asked the masses to work in accordance with this plan. This demonstrated that we were poisoned rather deeply by Confucius' fallacy of "the elite are intelligent while the lowly are ignorant" and Lin Piao's "theory that the masses are backward" and, as a result, we not only lagged behind the masses but, as time went by, would also commit serious mistakes because we took idealism as our guiding thought.

Upon seeing this point, we went immediately among the masses to learn their revolutionary spirit and to solicit their opinions on the leadership over the movement. The Party committee made this decision: First, the committee members must study seriously. They and the Party branch secretaries must perseveringly maintain the "study day" system. Second, the committee members must act as the commander and as the fighter. They study while working and fighting.

Immediately after that, the responsible comrade of the Party committee took the lead in setting up a few experimental points. At these experimental points, the Party committee members on the one hand took leadership perseveringly in carrying out study and propaganda, making criticism and writing big-character posters; on the other hand, they helped the masses sum up experience and gave guidance on the spot. As a result of integration of the leaders and the masses, an upsurge of the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius was whipped up very quickly throughout the machine works.

Leaders Take Command and Go to the Fore

Going among the masses and taking the lead in study and criticism, the leaders can certainly set the masses in motion; but we have learned from practice that, in order to direct the movement to develop in depth step by step, two specific problems have yet to be solved:

First, the relations between the leaders going to the fore and the training of backbone elements must be handled properly. While going to the fore in study and criticism, we tightly grasp the work of training backbone elements. From among the workers of the whole machine works, more than 800 instructors have been trained, accounting for one-third of the total number of workers. Together with them, we begin study early and learn more. Apart from this, we organize a writing group by combining the leading cadres, workers and spare-time theoretical instructors, and write critical essays in popular languages under eight topics. Their speeches in criticizing the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius trumpeted by Lin Piao are often more popular and more forceful than ours.

Liu Feng-chih, a female worker, worked as child labor for the landlord before the liberation and had never gone to school. She was abused

by the landlord as "a born pauper." She was admitted into the Party after the liberation. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, she entered the Tsinghua University as a workers' propaganda team member. Later, she mounted the rostrum at T'ienanmen and saw the great leader Chairman Mao. Citing the striking contrast between the two different systems and the two societies, she forcefully criticized the "concept of the heavenly mandate," upheld by Confucius and Mencius, touching the listeners to tears. Her criticism made all understand more clearly that the working class took a firm stand, had discriminate love for friends and hatred for enemies, and had rich practical experience in class struggle, so that the workers had the greatest right to speak in criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It also made us understand that it was necessary for the leaders to go to the fore and they also must pay attention to bringing the backbone elements into play and learning humbly from them, so that the enthusiasm of the leaders might be integrated with the enthusiasm of the broad masses.

Second, the leader must go to the fore to link the movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius with the reality of class struggle and two-line struggle in the machine works. Once the masses are aroused to action, they aim the spearhead of criticism at the doctrine of Lin Piao, Confucius and Mencius. At the criticism meetings, they enthusiastically air their views. Countless big-character posters are put up. In their excellent situation, if we still remain at the former level of going to the fore to make criticism, we shall lag behind the masses and this may hinder the deep-going development of the movement.

When we were considering this problem, a big-character poster was put up in the casting shop, criticizing Lin Piao's crimes in attempting to restore capitalism by patterning himself after Confucius and advocating "restrain oneself and return to propriety," and criticizing the Party committee of the machine works in the light of the problems existing in the line followed by the machine works in running itself. We immediately called a meeting to study this matter. We were of the opinion that: This big-character poster adheres to the correct orientation and grasps the ultra-right essence of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Very naturally, it reminds us of the problem of how to consolidate and develop the achievements made during the great cultural revolution. To direct the movement to develop in depth step by step, we must--while going to the fore to penetratingly criticize the reactionary program "restrain oneself and return to propriety"--courageously take the lead and arouse the masses to uncover contradictions and trace the root causes in the light of the major problems arising in actual class struggle and two-line struggle in our machine works.

We wrote a big-character poster supporting the revolutionary big-character poster put up by the casting shop and, at the same time, unified understanding within the Party committee and overcame the wrong idea of daring not link problems with reality. The seven standing committee members of our Party committee divided the work among themselves, grasped Lin Piao's fallacies in trumpeting the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius, made deep-going criticism, and wrote critical essays in the light of the problems encountered by the Party committee in implementing the proletarian line in running an enterprise.

After collective discussion, these critical essays were read at the criticism meeting held by the whole machine works and were made public in the form of big-character posters.

On February 9, at the "criticize Lin Piao and Confucius" meeting held by the whole machine works, the secretary of the Party committee was the first one to make a critical speech. After criticizing Lin Piao's crimes in attempting to restore capitalism by patterning himself after Confucius and advocating "restrain oneself and return to propriety," he uncovered on his own initiative the problems encountered by the Party committee in relying on the workers to run the enterprise, training a technical contingent of the workers and selecting new cadres from among the workers, and asked the workers and staff members of the whole machine works--while bearing in mind these problems concerning the line and policy--to penetratingly criticize the reactionary program of "restrain oneself and return to propriety" as trumpeted by Lin Piao and to help the Party committee overcome its rightist ideas, rectify its orientation and implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This meeting pushed the movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius carried out in the whole machine works to take another step forward.

Assiduously Make Analysis, Aptly Guide the Masses

To march ahead of the movement, the leaders must promptly investigate conditions, analyze the progress of the movement and guide the masses to press forward. In our machine works, the masses have already been aroused into action and the movement is deepening step by step. Under this situation, some problems have been put forward to the Party committee.

The first problem is: to correctly handle the relations between revolution and production. At the beginning, some cadres responsible for grasping production feared that the movement would hinder production, while others dared not grasp production for fear that other people would say that they "used production to divert the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius." The Party committee promptly analyzed the conditions and felt that this was chiefly caused by the fact that we did not solve very well the relations between the movement and production some time ago. Therefore, the Party committee called a symposium of cadres to seriously study the documents of the Party Central Committee and the editorials of Jen-min Jih-pao, to discuss the relations between the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius and the proper conducting of production, and to perseveringly uphold the policy "Grasp revolution -- promote production." With ideological consciousness raised to a higher level, it laid down clearly that: Cadres who emphatically grasp production should take part in a workers' study group and join the workers in study and criticism; comrades of the Party committee who emphatically grasp the movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius also must show concern for production. In this way, almost all the cadres supervising production not only actively grasp production, but also take an active part in the movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. In some workshops, when the secretary of the Party branch is away, the Party branch committee members assigned to grasp production go on their own initiative to grasp the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. In some units, some people are spared to run the backbone elements' study classes. This doesn't hinder production. On the contrary, the productive tasks have been accomplished ahead of schedule.

The second problem is: to strictly distinguish between the two types of qualitatively different contradictions and to unite with over 95 percent of the cadres and the masses. At the beginning, some technicians did not understand very well the meaning of this movement, so they did not speak enthusiastically. After analyzing this situation, the Party committee spared some manpower to help various Party branches in holding informal meetings of the technicians many times, having chats with them individually and organizing them to study the Party's policy toward intellectuals. It also pointed out emphatically that: In the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, all are comrades-in-arms in the same trench. The Party committee must assume responsibility for the shortcomings and mistakes in the work in the past. With thinking raised to a higher level, the technicians, bearing in mind the major problems arising in actual class struggle and two-line struggle, roundly criticized Lin Piao's crimes in attempting to restore capitalism by patterning himself after Confucius and advocating "restrain oneself and return to propriety."

The third problem is: to guide the activists to adopt a correct attitude toward the workers and staff members lagging relatively far behind. With the movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius developing in depth, some workers and staff members who usually lagged relatively far behind also went into action. But, some cadres and backbone elements held that these people were just "pretending." How should we approach this problem? We and the members and backbone elements of various Party branches made analysis and discussion, pointing out that: The change in these comrades demonstrates the immense force generated by this struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. We must fully estimate the depth of this struggle. We must confirm and encourage every improvement made by the comrades lagging behind and help them come over more quickly to the positive side, so as to unite with the vast majority of the masses and concentrate fire on the doctrine of Lin Piao, Confucius and Mencius. With thinking unified, we enthusiastically called on the comrades lagging behind and had chats with them, helping them in study and commending the progress they had made. We also let them participate in some activities of study and criticism for cadres and backbone elements and assigned them some social work, so that they would play their role in the movement.

"The movement is developing, new things have yet to emerge, and they are emerging in an endless stream." We are determined to go on getting together with the masses of workers to continuously study new problems and sum up new experience, and to lead the masses better to carry the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius through to the end!

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Act as Commanders and as Fighters

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Feb. 26, 1974)

With a view to directing the movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius to develop in depth step by step, the CCP committee of Tilu hsien, Hopei province, repeatedly studies the series of instructions and the documents of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee on the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. The committee members said: The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is a severe class struggle in our country at present. It is a thoroughgoing revolution in the sphere of ideology, a political and ideological struggle for upholding Marxism and combating revisionism, and a matter of prime importance in consolidating and developing the great victories and achievements won in the great proletarian cultural revolution, implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism. Whether or not this movement can be led well is a rigid test for every leading member of the hsien committee.

With thinking raised to a higher level, the leading members of the hsien committee went separately and deeply to the basic level to act as commanders and as fighters. They got together with the masses to study and to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. At the same time, they set up experimental points, grasped typical cases, tried to acquire firsthand information and helped the basic-level units solve actual problems.

Wang Hsiu-chen, a standing committee member of the hsien committee, stayed to work in Liangchuang commune. Hearing that the movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius developed slowly in Holienyu brigade, she hurried to that brigade that night, braving snowstorm and crossing two mountains, and got together with the brigade cadres to study and helped them heighten their understanding. As a result, the movement in this brigade developed very quickly.

Tu Ying-chieh, a standing committee member of the hsien Party committee and a vice chairman of the hsien revolutionary committee, got together with the cadres and the masses of Nankuch'ang brigade to take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a weapon to contrast the reactionary fallacies held by Lin Piao and those held by Confucius. He also organized the women, militiamen and old poor peasants to make criticism item by item in the light of the actual conditions of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines in the countryside. The further they went on with the criticism, the more vigorously and the more deeply they criticized. Once it was popularized, this experience played an excellent role in pushing forward the hsien-wide movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.

The Party committee of Tilu hsien held that in order to direct the movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius to develop in depth, it was necessary to correctly handle the relations between the key link and the ordinary things, to grasp the key link and make the ordinary things fall into their proper places, and to push forward the development of all branches of work.

When the criticism movement began, the construction of irrigation and water conservancy projects had already started in various communes of the hsien, an upsurge of spring plowing and preparation for farming was approaching, and a great deal of work needed to be carried out. The hsien committee decided that no matter how complicated and heavy the work might be, it was imperative to tightly grasp the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius as a matter of prime importance, to grasp revolution and to promote production.

At a meeting on agricultural financial and accounting work held by the hsien headquarters some time ago, some financial and accounting workers requested transfer to other posts for the reason that accounting work was troublesome. After criticizing Lin Piao's reactionary program of "restrain oneself and return to propriety," they heightened their consciousness in continuing the revolution and linked the proper doing of financial and accounting work with the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They expressed their will to grasp financial power well for the poor and lower-middle peasants.

During the winter vacation, some middle and primary school teachers criticized the reactionary fallacies "he who excels in learning can be an official" and "those who labor with their minds govern others; those who labor with their strength are governed by others" preached by Confucius and Mencius. They resolutely gave up their vacation and went to the construction sites to participate in voluntary labor in building water conservancy projects and to receive re-education from the workers, peasants and soldiers.

After the heavy snow in early February, the cadres and commune members of the 14 communes in the water-deficient mountainous area in the hsien criticized at night the fallacies "restrain oneself and return to propriety" and "the elite are intelligent while the lowly are ignorant" preached by Lin Piao and Confucius. In the daytime, more than 4,500 of them set out, taking with them 2,000 carts, big and small, to carry the accumulated snow to the construction sites, fields and water-storing pools within a couple of days, creating conditions for fighting against drought, preserving moisture in soil, sowing seeds and wresting a new bumper harvest in agriculture.

Motivated by the movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, various items of farm work, such as loosening soil, accumulating manure, sending nightsoil to fields, repairing farm tools and managing the wheat fields, got started earlier than in the past years and were carried out at high speed and with fine quality.

- Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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Bring the Party Branch into Play as a Bastion in
Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Feb. 26, 1974)

During the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, the Party branch of the 2nd company of a certain air forces unit first paid attention to grasping study among the Party members, so as to heighten their understanding of the important meaning of this struggle. By means of the study class, it organized the Party members to seriously study the series of important instructions given by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee on the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, to read the articles on the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius carried in newspapers and other publications, and to make criticism in connection with the reactionary fallacies of Lin Piao and Confucius. Through study and criticism, all Party members came to understand that: Confucius advocated "return to propriety" while Lin Piao went in for restoration. Lin Piao was an out-and-out disciple of Confucius. The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is a struggle against retrogression and restoration, has profound real significance and long-range historical significance, and is the most vivid and most practical education in ideology and political line.

With understanding heightened to a higher level, the Party branch again organized the Party members to seriously study Chairman Mao's writings on the role of a vanguard and model played by Communists, making them understand more clearly that the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius was a matter of prime importance and that active participation in this struggle was a task of prime importance for every Communist and revolutionary fighter.

Communist Kuan Po-ch'i said: "Chairman Mao teaches us that Communists 'should set an example in fighting bravely.' At present, we must set an example in fighting bravely in the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius and lead the broad masses to launch fierce attacks on Lin Piao and Confucius."

The Party members actively took the lead in airing their views, put up blackboard posters, and ran a special bulletin on the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. They went more vigorously to the fore during the criticism of some reactionary viewpoints held by Lin Piao and Confucius.

With a view to criticizing Lin Piao's reactionary program of patterning himself after Confucius and advocating "restrain oneself and return to propriety," Communist Sun Tien-kuo forged ahead in the face of difficulties. Spending a few nights' time, he read through some material and data and wrote some critical essays, penetratingly uncovering and criticizing Lin Piao's rabid ambition to restore capitalism. This greatly enlightened other Party members and gave an impetus to the deep-going development of the company-wide struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.

"The change in world outlook is something fundamental." The Party branch of the 2nd company also paid attention to educating the Party members to transform their world outlook during the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius. For instance, while criticizing Confucius' "doctrine of the mean" trumpeted by Lin Piao, it educated all to establish the revolutionary spirit of going against the tide; while criticizing the reactionary fallacy "those who labor with their minds govern others; those who labor with their strength are governed by others" advocated by Confucius and Mencius and trumpeted by Lin Piao, it educated all to actively support the educated youths in settling in mountainous and other rural areas and to take an active part in collective productive labor; while criticizing Confucius' reactionary philosophy of life trumpeted by Lin Piao, it educated all to establish the idea of "building a party for the interests of the vast majority" and to consciously impose stern demands on themselves in accordance with the Party Constitution.

Through the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, the Party branch of the 2nd company further promoted ideological remolding among the Party members, heightened their consciousness of class struggle and two-line struggle and strengthened the Party's ideological development. A Communist and a veteran fighter, P'eng K'e-fa was demobilized lately. He had been deeply worried by the problem of what to do after being demobilized. Through criticism of the reactionary fallacies advocated by Lin Piao and Confucius, he heightened his thinking and was resolved to go back to the countryside to contribute his strength toward building a socialist new countryside.

- Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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Make Criticism While Learning, Forge Ahead in the Face
of Difficulties

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Feb. 26, 1974)

"In criticizing Lin Piao, it is necessary to criticize Confucius. Communists must fight as a vanguard force in doing so." This is an oath taken by Kuo Yu-ch'ien, director of the militia department of Changchiak'ou Coal Mining Machinery Plant, who was formerly a worker. He matched his oath with his deeds. In order to take an active part in the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, he quietly put aside the sick leave certificate issued to him by the doctor. Every night, he hurried to the plant to study documents and other material and conducted revolutionary mass criticism.

Kuo Yu-ch'ien was born into a poor peasant family which suffered bitterly in the past. He never went to school when he was young. Some of Confucius' reactionary fallacies were a puzzle to him. But, he forged ahead in the face of difficulties. In daytime, he squeezed time to learn from "teachers" and clipped material from newspapers and other publications. At night, he concentrated energies on contrasting Confucius' reactionary fallacies with Lin Piao's reactionary fallacies and analyzed them one by one. In this way, he made clear the internal relations between Lin Piao's and Confucius' reactionary fallacies and saw more clearly the ultra-right essence of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. His eyes became keener and his fighting spirit surged higher.

Kuo Yu-ch'ien understood that: The doctrine of Confucius and Mencius has been disseminated for the past 2,000 years and more. Wholly eliminating its pernicious influence is a task involving very arduous efforts. We must have the aid of the telescope and microscope of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Therefore, he paid particular attention to mastering the ideological weapon. He drew up a study plan and diligently studied the works by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. For instance, when he started to criticize Confucius' and Mencius' fallacies of "virtue," "benevolence and righteousness" and "loyalty and forbearance" trumpeted by Lin Piao, he felt that he should make criticism relentlessly. But, when he spoke, he could not express himself. So, he repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," and came to understand that in a class society, there was the dictatorship of a class and there were no "virtues" and "benevolence and righteousness" above classes. With thinking raised to a higher level, his scope was also broadened. Bearing in mind the miseries his family suffered in the past and linking them with Lin Piao's towering crimes in "giving political emancipation as a rule" to the handful of freaks and monsters while cherishing utmost hatred for the laboring people and even attempting assassination of our great leader Chairman Mao, he penetratingly criticized Lin Piao's and Confucius' "benevolence and righteousness" and "forbearance" and pointed out that this was a restorationist doctrine and that Lin Piao trumpeted the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius for the purpose of restoring capitalism. After that, he wrote some vivid and forceful critical essays.

With a view to arousing the broad masses to fight a people's war of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, Kuo Yu-ch'ien made use of all occasions and opportunities to do propaganda among the broad masses and to mobilize the masses. With the support by the Party committee, he organized the backbone elements among the militiamen of the machinery plant to run a training class for the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, to set examples and to exchange experience promptly. As a result, the movement of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius developed in depth and advanced in triumph.

- Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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Lead the Masses to Make Criticism

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Feb. 26, 1974)

It was already late at night but the meeting to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius held by the 4th company of a certain PLA unit was still sternly under way. Chang Ching-hsiung, a new fighter of the No. 1 squad, mounted the rostrum, cited the facts and reasoned things out. He penetratingly and forcefully uncovered the crimes of Lin Piao in patterning himself after Confucius, advocating "restrain oneself and return to propriety" and frenziedly attempting to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. After hearing Little Chung's criticism, all said that he had made criticism very well. But, Little Chung said that this was an outcome of the squad leader's enthusiastic help.

This was true. In helping Little Chung, Chang Hsieh-hsing, a Communist and leader of the No. 1 squad, had done much arduous work. Little Chung had been in school for only one year. He was very upset at first when he saw the comrades criticize Lin Piao and Confucius so effectively. Upon learning this, Chang Hsieh-hsing thought to himself: The criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius is a severe class struggle. A Communist not only must stand in the forefront of the struggle, but also has the duty to help comrades-in-arms overcome their difficulties and to lead the masses to join in the fight. One night when the meeting to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius had just ended, Chang called on Little Chung, had a heart-to-heart chat with him, helped him overcome his fear of hardships, and told him how he had carried out study. He enthusiastically encouraged Little Chung, saying: "No citadel is impregnable. So long as we exert ourselves, we can certainly overcome difficulties and stand on the first line of the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius."

In order to help Little Chung build up his ability to make criticism, Chang Hsieh-hsing volunteered to be Little Chung's "teacher" and helped him criticize Lin Piao and Confucius while learning culture. He often marked in red the important points in the articles of criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius carried in newspapers and other publications, and recommended them to Little Chung for study. It was already past ten o'clock one night when Chang Hsieh-hsing came back from the company headquarters after attending a meeting. He discovered that Little Chung was concentrated on writing the draft of a speech to criticize Lin Piao for patterning himself after Confucius and advocating "restrain oneself and return to propriety." He sat down and joined him in discussing and revising the draft until deep into the night.

Not long ago, the PLA unit was carrying out camp training in the countryside. During the spare time in the morning and at night, Chang often took Little Chung with him to make social investigations, to visit the poor and lower-middle peasants and to go deeply into the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius. The No. 1 squad lived in the house belonging to a poor peasant woman Chou Ta-niang. Chang asked Chou Ta-niang to tell all fighters about her miserable life in the old society. This taught Little Chung a very impressive lesson. Citing the history of miseries Chou Ta-niang's family

suffered, Little Chung effectively criticized Lin Piao's crimes in advocating "restrain oneself and return to propriety" and frenziedly attempting to restore capitalism. He said in anger: In the past centuries, the exploiting classes had been sucking the blood of the laboring people. Yet, they always talked about "benevolence" and "love." They were liars. In advocating "return to propriety," Lin Piao sought restoration of capitalism. We must sharpen our eyes and take solid action to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to smash their conspiracy of restoration!

After that, Little Chung studied Chairman Mao's works still more diligently and took an active part in the struggle for criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius.

- Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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